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ART. I. — *Life of Joseph Brant*, [*Thayendanegea*] ; *including the Border Wars of the American Revolution, and Sketches of the Indian Campaigns of Generals Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne*, &c. &c. By WILLIAM L. STONE. In Two Volumes. New York : George Dearborn & Co. 1838. 8vo. pp. 513 and 601.

THE border wars of the American Revolution were full of deep interest. The Indian tribes, having long fought to no purpose against the power of Britain, which seemed ever ready to support the "Long-Knives" in their encroachments upon Indian lands, suddenly found the state of things reversed. The red-coats were with *them*. White had turned against white, brother against brother ; and the English everywhere cheered on the savage against the very settlers who were, the year before, English themselves. The red men were, and well might be, puzzled at this sudden division of their old foes into British and "*Bostonais*" ; but in it they saw cause for hope. The spirit of Pontiac bade them be of good cheer, and strike once more for their homes and hunting-grounds. From Lake Superior, along the North to Maine, and southward to the Gulf of Mexico, the oppressed and broken tribes took courage again ; and, had Tecumthé then been but a full-grown man, God alone knows what

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might have been the result of our own Revolution. For, had the Western tribes been guided by one spirit, and that acting in concert with the power of England, the "stations" of Kentucky would soon have been tenantless; and, with the West in possession of Britain and her red allies, man cannot say how our armies might have withstood the enemy.

But it was not so ordered. Pontiac was dead; Tecumthé a little child; and Brant, able as he was, had neither the temper nor position of those great chieftains. If he was not a half-breed,* neither was he in training and tone a full Indian.

The border wars of the Revolution, we say, were full of interest. They were the wars of a falling race, struggling for all that was dear to them; and, though we must shudder over the bloodshed and the burnings, we cannot compare the acts of the savage man with those of the civilized and Christian man of those days, without feeling pity and sympathy for the former. What was the scalp-taker of the wilderness, in point of atrocity, when measured with the scalp-buyer, Hamilton? What were the worst acts of the red men, when placed side by side with the massacre on the Muskingum? †

These wars, Mr. Stone has proposed to himself to delineate. But we do not think his plan a happy one. His history is less a living whole, than a skeleton hung together with wires. Had he written Brant's life, and, in a separate work, given us the history of the wars, we believe his purpose would have been much better answered. As it is, his volumes contain a little of the common Revolutionary history, and a little of the Backwoods history, and a little of Brant, and a little of many other people. And yet they are full of good and rare matter; nay, of matter that has never appeared before. We owe Mr. Stone many thanks for his industry in collecting, but very few for his judgment in selecting materials. We fear, also, that he did himself injustice by writing hastily. A complex history needs to simmer a long while in the author's brain; and one of more than eleven hundred pages is not to be prepared in a few months, or even one or two years. However, though the work before us wants unity, clearness, and a sustained interest, it is valuable for its facts, and abounds in curious and interesting

* Some suppose Brant to have been the son of Sir William Johnson. See Stone, *Life of Brant*, Vol. I. pp. 1, 2.

† For an account of Hamilton and of the Moravian massacre see below.

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details. The general reader may nod over it, but the historical student will prize, and often refer to it. We would that there were more of such collectors as Mr. Stone. They are of incalculable value; and though rather to be ranked as quarriers than architects, they are entitled to feel and say, that, without them, temples could not be built.

Mr. Stone has not, then, as we think, written such a history of the Border Wars of the American Revolution as might, and should be written. Nor do we know, that, among all our writers, any one has this subject in hand. Why is it not undertaken by some one of the many competent to its successful treatment?

To understand the border wars of the Revolution, we must first understand the position of the Indians when those wars began.

In the remote northeast, were the Penobscots and their kindred tribes; while amid those wild regions, through which Arnold passed on his way to Quebec, dwelt "Natanis, the last of the Norridgewocks," with the poor remnants of those nations, among whom Father Ralle, the Catholic,* long labored, but who were too poor, even in 1775, to stop, or annoy the troops which were toiling along the Kennebec and Dead River, on their way to the capital of Lower Canada.†

In New Hampshire were a few lingering bands of the Penacooks, and other warrior tribes of that Granite land. In Massachusetts there remained the portion of the Mohegans, called the Stockbridge Indians, together with a few Pequots and Narragansets. In New York, still stood that famous and much-feared alliance, known as the Iroquois, or Six Nations; an alliance from of old bound to England by strong ties, and, at the opening of the Revolution, under the direct control of the Johnson family, a set of staunch Tories. To the south of the Six Nations were the Delawares, a race of the most noble character, and whose councils were divided between those who wished to throw off the yoke of the white man, and those who saw that the white man must rule, and wished to live in peace and good faith with him. West of the Six Nations and the Delawares, that is to say, west of the Muskingum river, in what is now the State of Ohio, came the Shawanese, fierce, bold, cruel, and wholly adverse to the

* See *Lettres Edifiantes.* † Sparks's *Washington,* Vol. III. p. 112.

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Europeans; the Wyandots, of whom it was said, in after days, that one could not be taken alive; the Miamis, once the head of a confederacy mightier even than that of the Iroquois, and still strong and determined; the Ottawas, Chippeways, and all the painted nations of the northwest. South of this great band, and on the other side of those Kentucky stations, which had sprung up between the rival nations of the north and south, lay the Creeks, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Catawbas; while, in the extreme southern country, though not within the limits of the British colonies, were the Seminoles, and other yet unconquered races of the *hammocks* and swamps.

Thus was the little band of Provinces fairly hemmed in by the tribes of red men; most of them certain foes.

The influence which these tribes might have upon the Revolutionary contest, was evident to both parties. Lord Dunmore, in the autumn of 1774, made peace with the Shawanese upon the Scioto, and stopped the progress of the Virginians, who had just gained a victory at Point Pleasant, under the undoubted influence of calculations, respecting the policy of having a strong force to hang upon the rear of the rebellious colonists.* He also, by his course, pacified the Six Nations, who had taken some part in that war. It arose, indeed, out of the wrongs done to Logan and a few others, and was immortalized by the speech of Logan, and he was a Cayuga.† In truth, the influence of the Indians could not be lost sight of; for, notwithstanding the peace of Fort Charlotte, made by Dunmore, the Shawanese of the Miami valleys never ceased from annoying the settlers within striking distance; in March, 1775, Boone and his party of surveyors, then engaged in laying out the first road in Kentucky, lost several men by the Indians; and from that time forward a partisan warfare was kept up. ‡

In the north, meanwhile, the Americans had seen the dangers to be feared from the action of the Indians, and early in April the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts wrote to the Reverend Samuel Kirkland, then a missionary among the Oneidas, informing him, that, having heard that the British

* See Doddridge's *Notes*, p. 236.

† For proofs of the feelings of the Iroquois with regard to Dunmore's war, see Stone, Vol. I. pp. 65 and 68.

‡ Butler's *Kentucky*, 2d ed. p. 27.

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were trying to attach the Six Nations to their interest, it had been thought proper to ask the several tribes, through him, to stand neutral. Steps were also taken to secure the co-operation, if possible, of the Penobscot and Stockbridge Indians; the latter of whom replied, that, though they never could understand what the quarrel between the Provinces and Old England was about, yet they would stand by the Americans. They also offered to "feel the mind" of the Iroquois, and try to bring them over.*

But the Iroquois were not to be easily won over by any means. Sir William Johnson, so long the King's agent among them, and to whom they looked with the confidence of children in a father, had died suddenly, in June, 1774, and the wild men had been left under the influence of Colonel Guy Johnson, Sir William's son-in-law, who succeeded him as Superintendent, and of John Johnson, Sir William's son, who succeeded to his estates and honors. Both these men were Tories; and their influence in favor of England was increased by that of Mr. Stone's hero, Brant, now nearly thirty-three years old. This trio, acting in conjunction with some of the rich old royalists along the Mohawk, opposed the whole movement of the Bostonians, the whole spirit of the Philadelphia Congress, and every attempt, open or secret, in favor of the rebels. Believing Mr. Kirkland to be little better than a Whig in disguise, and fearing that he might alienate the tribe, in which he was, from their old faith, and, through them, influence the others, the Johnsons, while the war was still bloodless, made strong efforts to remove him from his position. Of these efforts Mr. Stone speaks at some length, though with a confusion of dates, as we read his account. The first attempt was made, he says, in February, 1775 (Vol. I. p. 60). The cause of this attempt, he suggests, was a correspondence which took place the following April (p. 55). It failed, however, but was renewed and succeeded in the spring, as appears by a letter, dated January 9th (p. 61).†

* Stone, Vol. I. pp. 55–58. — Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. III. pp. 495, 496.

† The date, "January," may be a misprint for "June"; but we think not, as no reference is made in the letter to the communication from Massachusetts, as a cause of suspicion. Mr. Stone is a little careless. Thus (p. 64) he refers to Guy Johnson's fears of seizure in May, and says, that Schuyler had his eye on him, and gives as authority Washington's order to Schuyler in the following month.

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Nor were the fears of the Johnsons groundless, as is shown by another of the original papers presented us by Mr. Stone, the address of the Oneida Indians to the New England Governors, in which they state their intention of remaining neutral during so unnatural a quarrel as that just then commencing. But this intention the leading tribe of the great Indian confederacy meant to disturb, if possible. The idea was suggested, that Guy Johnson was in danger of being seized by the Bostonians, and an attempt was made to rally about him the savages as a body-guard; while he, on his part, wrote to the neighbouring magistrates, holding out to them, as a terror, the excitement of the Indians, and the dangers to be feared from their rising, if he were seized, or their rights interfered with.

So stood matters in the Mohawk valley, during the month of May, 1775. The Johnsons were gathering a little army, which soon amounted to five hundred men; and the Revolutionary committees, resolute never to yield one hair's breadth, "never to submit to any arbitrary acts of any power under heaven," were denouncing Colonel Guy's conduct as "arbitrary, illegal, oppressive, and unwarrantable." In truth, the Colonel was fast getting obnoxious. "Watch him," wrote Washington to General Schuyler in June; and, even before that order was given, what with the Tryon county men above him on the river, and the whole Provincial force below him, he was likely to be well watched. Finding himself thus fettered, and feeling it to be time to take some decided step, the Superintendent, early in June, began in move westward, accompanied by his dependents and the great body of the Mohawk Indians, who remained firm in the British interests.* He moved first to Fort Stanwix, (afterwards Fort Schuyler, near the present town of Rome,) and then went on to Ontario, where he arrived early in July, and held a Congress with thirteen hundred and forty warriors, whose old attachment to England was then and there renewed. Joseph Brant, be it noted, during all this time, was acting as the Superintendent's secretary.

All of the Six Nations, except the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, might now be deemed in alliance with the British. Those tribes, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Kirk-

* Stone, Vol. I. p. 77.

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land, were prevented from going with the others, and upon the 28th of June, at German Flats, gave to the Americans a pledge of neutrality.*

While the members of the Northern Confederacy were thus divided in their attachments, the Delawares of the upper Ohio were by no means unanimous in their opinions as to this puzzling family quarrel which was coming on; and Congress, having been informed on the first day of June, that the Western Virginians stood in fear of the Indians, with whom Lord Dunmore, in his small way, was, as they thought, tampering,† it was determined to have a Congress called at Pittsburg, to explain to the poor red men the causes of the sudden division of their old enemies, and try to persuade them to keep peace. This Congress did not meet, however, until October.‡

Nor was it from the northern and western tribes only, that hostilities were feared. The Cherokees and their neighbours were much dreaded, and not without cause; as they were then less under the control of the whites, than either the Iroquois or Delawares, and might, in the hope of securing their freedom, be led to unite, in a warfare of extermination, against the Carolinas. We find, accordingly, that early in July, Congress having determined to seek the alliance of the several Indian nations, three departments were formed;§ a northern one, including the Six Nations and all north and east of them, to the charge of which General Schuyler, Oliver Wolcott, and three others, were appointed; a middle department, including the western Indians, who were to be looked to by Messieurs Franklin, Henry, and Wilson; and a southern department, including all the tribes south of Kentucky, over which commissioners were to preside under the appointment of the South Carolina Council of Safety. These commissioners were to keep a close watch upon the nations in their several departments, and upon the King's Superintendents among them. These officers they were to seize, if they had reason to think them engaged in stirring up the natives against the colonies, and in all ways were to seek to keep those natives quiet and out of the contest. *Talks* were also prepared to send to the several tribes, in which an attempt was made to illustrate the relations between England

* Stone, Vol. I. p. 81.
† *Old Journals*, Vol. I. p. 78.
‡ Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 136.
§ *Old Journals*, Vol. I. p. 113, &c.

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and America, by comparing the last to a child ordered to carry a pack too heavy for its strength. The boy complains, and, for answer, the pack is made still heavier. Again and again the poor urchin remonstrates, but the bad servants misrepresent the matter to the father, and the boy gets ever a heavier burden, till at last, almost broken-backed, he throws off the load altogether, and says he will carry it no longer. This allegory was intended to make the matter clear to the pack-carrying red men, and, if we may judge from Heckewelder's account, it answered the purpose; for, he says, the Delawares reported the whole story very correctly. Indeed, he gives their report upon the 137th page of his "Narrative," which report agrees very well with the original speech, preserved to us in the Journals of the Old Congress.*

The first conference, held by the commissioners, was in the northern department, a grand congress coming together at Albany in August. Of this congress a full account may be found in Colonel Stone's first volume.† It did not, however, fully represent the Six Nations, and some, even of those who were present, immediately afterwards deserted to the British; so that the result was slight.

The next conference was held at Pittsburg with the western Indians. This was in October, and was attended by the Delawares, Senecas, and, perhaps, some of the Shawanese. The Delaware nation were, as we have already said, divided in their views touching the Americans. One of their chieftains, known to us as Captain White-Eyes, a man, as it would seem, of high character and clear mind, of courage such as became the leader of a race, whose most common virtues were those of the wildman, and of a forbearance and kindness as unusual, as fearlessness was frequent, among his people, — this true man was in favor of peace; and his influence carried with him a strong party. But there were others, again, who longed for war, and wished to carry the whole nation over to the British interest. These were led by a cunning and talented man, called Captain Pipe, who, without the energy, moral daring, and unclouded honesty of his opponent, had many qualities admirably suited to win and rule Indians. Between these two men there was a division from the beginning of the Revolution till the death

* Vol. I. p. 115. † pp. 94 – 104. Appendix iv. – xxxi.

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of White-Eyes. At the Pittsburg Conference, the Peace-Chief, as he was called, was present, and there asserted his freedom of the Six Nations, who, through their emissaries present, tried to bend the Delawares, as they had been used to do. His bold denial of the claim of the Iroquois to rule his people, was seized upon, by some of the war-party, as a pretext for leaving the Muskingum, where White-Eyes lived, and withdrawing toward Lake Erie, into the more immediate vicinity of the English and their allies.

The Shawanese and their neighbours, meantime, had taken counsel with Guy Johnson at Oswego,* and might be considered as in league with the king. Indeed, we can neither wonder at, nor blame these bewildered savages for leaguing themselves with any power *against* those actual occupants of their hunting-grounds, who were, here and there in Kentucky, building block-houses and clearing corn-fields. Against those block-houses and their builders, little bands of red men continually kept sallying forth, supplied with ammunition from Detroit and the other western posts, and incited to exertion by the well-known stimulants of whiskey and fine clothes.†

However, it is hardly correct to say, that this was done in 1775, though the arrangements were, beyond doubt, made in that year; Colonel Johnson having visited Montreal, immediately after the council with the Shawanese and others at Oswego, for the purpose of concluding with the British governor and general upon his future course.

During 1775, therefore, there was no border war, if we except the small predatory incursions into Kentucky. In the South all remained quiet; in the West there were doubt and uneasiness, without action; in the North, a distinct siding with the King by the great part of the Indians, though no warfare.

But the next year found the mass of the red men openly in arms against the colonies. Brant, who had gone to Canada in the pacific guise of Colonel Johnson's secretary, in 1776 appeared at the head of the most numerous tribes of the Iroquois, threatening, with all the horrors of Indian warfare, the valley of the Mohawk.‡ His preparation for this service was of a curious nature, being nothing less than a visit to London, where for a time he was the lion of the city,

* Stone, Vol. I. p. 102. † Ibid., Vol. I. p. 187. ‡ Ibid., Vol. I. p. 149.

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and particularly patronized by Boswell, for whom he had his portrait taken. Returning thence in time to be present at, and share in, the battle of the Cedars in May, he, for unknown reasons, suffered the summer and autumn to pass without taking any decisive step ; keeping the poor women and children of Cherry Valley and the neighbouring settlements in a state of continual anxiety to no purpose.

In the West, however, there was more of movement. Traders were stripped, men slain, and stations attacked. The Shawanese and the Wyandots were both at war for England ; and great efforts were made to involve the Delawares.*

But it was in the South, that the border wars of our Revolution first broke out in all their strength and horror. Upon the 30th of July, Congress was informed, that the Cherokees had commenced hostilities ; and from that time, or rather from the 15th of that month, when the war began, until the middle of October, the forces of the Carolinas, Georgia, and Virginia, were engaged in one of those protracted contests which have ever marked the struggles of the whites and southern Indians. But at length Colonel Andrew Williamson, who commanded the South Carolina forces, carried his arms into the interior of the Cherokee country, destroyed their villages, and brought them to terms. Of the details of this war we know very little. The causes of it, the means by which the Indians were induced to rise, and all the after-steps, have been but very imperfectly exhibited, as yet, by any writer. We trust, however, that some one, with the industry and perseverance of Mr. Stone, may be led to turn his attention that way, and compile the Annals, if not the History, of that time in the South.†

The year 1776 might be said, then, to have passed without any serious injury to the colonists from the various tribes, although it was clear, that those tribes were to be looked on as engaged in the war, and that the majority of them were with the mother country. Through the West and Northwest, where the agents of England could act to the greatest advantage, dissatisfaction spread rapidly. The nations, nearest

* Heckewelder and Butler.

† Holmes *Annals*, Vol. II. p. 258. — *Journals of the Old Congress.* — Ramsay, &c. — Washington (Sparks's Ed. Vol. III. p. 210) refers to evidences of efforts on the part of Britain to engage the southern savages in 1775.

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the Americans, found themselves pressed upon and harassed by the more distant bands, and, through the whole winter of 1776–7, rumors were flying along the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, of coming troubles. Nor were the good people of New York less disturbed in their minds, the settlers upon the Mohawk and upper Susquehanna standing in continual dread of incursion.* No incursion, however, took place during the winter or spring of 1777; though why the blow was delayed is what we cannot well know, until Great Britain has magnanimity enough to unveil her past acts, and, acknowledging her follies and sins, to show the world the various steps to that union of the savages against her foes, which her noble Chatham denounced as a "disgrace," and "deep and deadly sin."

That blow was delayed, however; and, alas! was struck, at length, after, and as if in retaliation for, one of those violent acts of wrong, which must ever be expected from a frontier people. We refer to the murder of Cornstalk, the leading chieftain of the Scioto Shawanese; a man, whose energy, courage, and good sense, place him among the very foremost of the native heroes of this land.† This truly great man, who was himself for peace, but who found all his neighbours, and even those of his own tribe, stirred up to war by the agents of England, went over to the American fort at Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kenhawa, in order to talk the matter over with Captain Arbuckle, who commanded there, and with whom he was acquainted. This was early in the summer of 1777. The Americans, knowing the Shawanese to be inclining to the enemy, thought it would be a good plan to retain Cornstalk and Redhawk, a younger chief of note, who was with him, and make them hostages for the good conduct of their people. The old warrior, accordingly, after he had finished his statement of the position he was in, and the necessity under which he and his friends would be of "going with the stream," unless the Long-Knives could protect them, found, that, in seeking counsel and safety, he had walked into a trap, and was fast there. However, he folded his arms, and, with Indian calmness, waited the issue. The day went by. The next morning came, and from the opposite shore was heard an Indian hail,

* *Journals of the Old Congress.* — Stone, &c.

† See Stone, Vol. I. p. 191. — Doddridge's *Indian Wars*, &c.

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known to be from Ellinipsico, the son of Cornstalk. The Americans brought him also into their toils as a hostage, and were thankful that they had thus secured to themselves peace; — as if iniquity and deception ever secured that first condition of all good! Another day rolled by, and the three captives sat waiting what time would bring. On the third day, two savages, unknown to the whites, shot one of the white hunters, toward evening. Instantly the dead man's comrades raised the cry, "Kill the red dogs in the fort." Arbuckle tried to stop them, but they were men of blood, and their wrath was up. The Captain's own life was threatened, if he offered any hindrance. They rushed to the house where the captives were confined; Cornstalk met them at the door, and fell, pierced with seven bullets; his son and Redhawk died also, less calmly than their veteran companion, and more painfully. From that hour peace was not to be hoped for.

But this treachery, closed by murder, on the part of the Americans, though perhaps the immediate cause of the outbreak in the West, was not, in any degree, the cause of the great border war. Two years had been spent by Britain in arranging and organizing that war. Cornstalk fell into the snare, because that war was organized. Before his death the whole Cherokee contest was begun and ended, and Brant, in person, had commanded an expedition against Cherry Valley, which was attended with slight results, but was still proof of the condition of matters and the temper of men. And, almost at the moment when Cornstalk was dying upon the banks of the Ohio, there was a Congress gathering at Oswego, under the eye of Colonel Johnson, "to eat the flesh and drink the blood of a Bostonian"; in other words, to arrange finally the measures which should be taken against the devoted rebels by Christian brethren and their heathen allies.*

And here, before entering upon the actual bloodshed, it may be as well, perhaps, to say what we have to say upon the comparative merits, or demerits, of the parties to the revolutionary contest, in respect to their measures for the employment of the Indians.

The first mention of the subject, which we meet with, is in the Address of the Massachusetts Congress to the Iro-

* Stone, Vol. I. p. 186.

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quois, in April, 1775. In that they say, that they hear the British are exciting the savages against the colonies; and they ask the Six Nations to aid them, or stand quiet.* It would seem, then, that, even before the battle of Lexington, both parties had applied to the Indians, and sought an alliance. Nor was this strange or reprehensible. Both parties had been used to the employment of the natives in contests between the whites, and both knew that a portion of the coming struggle, at least, must be inland, among the tribes of red men, and that those tribes could not be expected to stand wholly neutral. In the outset, therefore, both parties were of the same mind and pursued the same course. The Congress of the United Colonies, however, during 1775, and until the summer of 1776, advocated merely the attempt to keep the Indians out of the contest entirely, and instructed the commissioners, appointed in the several departments, to do so. But England was of another mind. Promises and threats were both used to induce the savages to act with her,† though, at first, it would seem, to little purpose, even the Canada tribe of Caghnawagas having offered their aid to the Americans. When Britain, however, became victorious in the North, and particularly after the battle of the Cedars, in May, 1776, the wild men began to think of holding to her side, their policy being, most justly, in all quarrels of the whites, to stick by the strongest. Then it was, in June, 1776, that Congress resolved to do what *Washington had advised in the previous April*, that is, to employ the savages in active warfare. Upon the 19th of April the Commander-in-chief wrote to Congress, saying, that, as the Indians would soon be engaged, either for or against, he would suggest, that they be employed for the colonies;‡ upon the 3d of May, the report on this was considered; upon the 25th of May, it was resolved to be highly expedient to engage the Indians for the American service; and, upon the 3d of June, the General was empowered to raise two thousand to be employed in Canada. Upon the 17th of June, Washington was authorized to employ them where he pleased, and to offer them rewards for prisoners; and, upon the 8th of July, he was empowered to call

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. III. p. 495. † Ibid., p. 55. ‡ Ibid., p. 364.

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out as many of the Nova Scotia and neighbouring tribes as he saw fit.*

Such was the course of proceeding, on the part of the colonies, with regard to the employment of the Indians. The steps, at the time, were secret, but now the whole story is before the world. Not so, however, with regard to the acts of England; as to them, we have the records of but few placed within our reach. One thing, however, is known, namely, that, while the colonies offered their allies of the woods rewards for *prisoners*, some of the British agents gave them money for *scalps*.† And this leads us to speak of a distinction, which we would have kept in mind by those who read our remarks, with regard to the employment of the savages. It is this; that whatever tends to produce animosity between the individuals of two warring nations is to be avoided, as leading inevitably to enmity during peace, and thence to renewed war. The great cause of the bitterness of frontier and civil wars, is the individual hatred that mingles with, and envenoms, the public hostility. This same individual feeling had much to do with the perpetual warfare of those times, when men fought hand to hand, instead of destroying whole ranks by cannon and musket shot; and the production of this individual feeling is one of the great, *peculiar* objections to privateering. Now, so far as the employment of the Indians helped to produce this personal, rather than public hatred, we think it wholly objectionable. We do not see, that it would help to do this necessarily, and we do not learn, that it did in fact. But the British plan of paying the savages for scalps, and thus setting a bounty on murder, one may well conceive, would produce personal, angry feelings, because it was unusual; whereas the employment of the red men, as between those warring in America, was not so.

We regard the British, then, as more culpable than the colonists in three respects; first, for trying to involve the Indians, in the South, West, and North, *from the outset*, ‡ whereas the Americans tried to keep them out of the contest for more than a year; secondly, for offering money for scalps,

* *Secret Journals*, Vol. I. pp. 43 – 47.

† Jefferson's *Writings*, Vol. I. p. 456.

‡ Not culpable because the natives were savages, but because they were not in war, and the British sought to involve them in war. The wrong would have been the same, had it been a civilized neighbour whom they sought to bring into the quarrel.

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an unusual measure, and one calculated to irritate individual feeling ; and thirdly, for keeping the whole matter in the dark to this day.

Having disposed, thus summarily, of a point that might be discoursed on through twenty pages or more, we return to our history.

It was some time in July, probably, that Guy Johnson, with his loyalist and Indian friends, ate their Bostonian at Oswego. He was there, soon after, joined by Colonel St. Leger, with about two hundred British regulars, who, in conjunction with the Tories and savages, were to move up the river, and across to Fort Schuyler, and thence down the Mohawk to join Burgoyne on the Hudson. It was a pleasantly arranged plan, and does credit to the British ministers. New England, containing the most rebellious of the rebel provinces, was to be cut off from her sisters, and the same blow which did this was to clear the Mohawk Valley of its Whig population, and so leave all north of New York the King's own. A good plan it was ; but it failed. Burgoyne, as we all know, found a lion in his path ; and his coöperator, St. Leger, was not more happy.

This last-named officer, with seventeen hundred men, got under way toward the last of July. Of his march and proceedings, Mr. Stone gives a clear and full account from the original papers.* His van-guard, with which was Brant, came before Fort Schuyler on the 2d of August, just after a reinforcement of two hundred men, and several boat-loads of provisions, had been safely housed. The main British force reached the post on the 3d. St. Leger, as we have said, had seventeen hundred men ; Colonel Gansevoort, who commanded the Americans, had seven hundred and fifty, with food and powder, however, for six weeks. Thus supplied, the provincials were prepared to stand a strong siege, although their works were in a bad condition. One thing they needed, a flag ; but this they soon furnished from red and white shirts, and a blue camblet cloak which was at hand, and the stars and stripes were, in a little while, waving above them.

Meantime, news having gone down the Mohawk of the approach of the British army, the militia of that region were

* Stone, Vol. I. pp. 209 - 264.

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called in, and assembled at German Flats, to the number of near a thousand, under the command of General Herkimer. This brave old officer, while on his march to the relief of Fort Schuyler, was induced, by circumstances related by Mr. Stone, to doubt the propriety of advancing; but, being taunted by some of his subordinates with Toryism and cowardice, he suffered his judgment to be overruled, and gave the order to march on. His body of untrained soldiers marched on at the command, in such form and disposition as to expose themselves not a little. By and by they came to a ravine. In the same loose order, in which they had hitherto been advancing, they entered it. When nearly the whole body of troops were within its limits, those in advance and upon the flanks were shot down by an unseen enemy, and the forest rang with the true Indian yell. It was Brant and his warriors; and the battle that followed is known as the battle of Oriskany. The British force, under the direction of Brant, as Mr. Stone thinks, had disposed itself in a circular form, so that, no sooner had the provincials entered through a gap left at one point of the circle, than the whole of them were surrounded, with the exception of the rear-guard, which ran away. And then began one of those contests which are very like to the battles of Homer and Scott, had we but a Homer or Scott to describe them;—a battle of man against man; of individual prowess; of individual glory; not a battle of *manœuvre*, (which, despite its name, is not hand-work, but head-work,) but of the true hand-work, and well worthy of being sung, if we could but get rid of the Dutch names of Herkimer, and Visscher, and Van Sluyck. It was a battle too, we regret to say, of that individual hatred which the knights of old did not feel for one another. Here were the rebels who had denied their king; there the traitors who were fighting against their country. Bitter indeed was the feeling between them, brother even seeking the life of brother.

Two men, especially, distinguished themselves on that day, Captain Gardinier and Captain Dillinback. The former, seeing one of his men seized by a pretended friend, but real enemy, sprang upon the captor, and levelled him with his spear, (for he fought with the arms as well as the spirit of Hector and *Cœur-de-lion*,) and rescued the man. Others sprang upon him. The first that came, "with mor-

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tal thrust he slew," and the second, sent howling and limping back to the British ranks. But those ranks were yet full, and three of the enraged Tories (for he was contending with Americans and neighbours) sprang upon him. Not even three, however, could conquer him. He kept them at bay, until, in the struggle, one of his spurs caught in the clothes of an opponent, and he was tripped, and fell. Now his case seemed desperate indeed. Two of the three Tories instantly struck with their bayonets, and pinned both legs to the earth. The third aimed a more deadly blow at his heart, but Gardinier caught the bayonet, and, by main strength, drew his assailant down upon his own body, and held him there as a shield against the thrusts of the others. All this had passed like thought; but, the instant his men saw the condition of their leader, they sprang to his rescue. Relieved from the bayonets above, Gardinier released the Tory who was upon him, and, seizing his spear in his lacerated hand, half rose, and buried it in the body of his antagonist.

The other hero of this battle, Captain Dillinback, was one who had often said, that he would never be taken prisoner. In the midst of the uproar, three of Johnson's men, who knew well the Captain's saying, rushed together to seize him. One of them succeeded in seizing his gun, for they came upon him unexpectedly. But Dillinback, though surprised, was not captured; he wrested his weapon from his antagonist, levelled him with the butt, shot the second, and bayonetted the third! So he fulfilled his saying, that he would never be a prisoner; but, even at the instant of fulfilment, a ball struck him, and he fell dead.

Herkimer had been badly wounded early in the action; but he remained upon the field, and, sitting in his saddle, supported by a tree, smoked his pipe, and ordered the battle. It lasted six hours, and was, in spite of odds, a drawn game at last. The British killed most men, and the Americans remained masters of the field.

Meanwhile, during the battle of Oriskany, a sortie had been made from the besieged fort, by Colonel Willett, against the nearly deserted camp of John Johnson. It was entirely successful; much plunder and some prisoners being taken, without the loss of a man on the part of the Americans. The British colors, that were found, were immedi-

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ately hoisted under those of America (the old camblet cloak and red shirt), and the besiegers treated to a hearty cheer by the inspirited garrison. Of the various steps taken, after this time, to secure the fort for the King and for the Province, we cannot speak. The rebels, in the end, were successful. St. Leger abandoned the siege, and marched back to Lake Ontario. Of all these steps, Mr. Stone gives a full account from original sources. From him we have derived the facts just given, and to him all that may write of those events will be indebted for much, that is interesting, and now first brought to light.

While in the North the Iroquois were acting with the British against the colonists, in the South all remained quiet, and in the West all remained uncertain. The Shawanese, irritated by the death of Cornstalk, still pretended to wish for peace, while they continually annoyed the settlers in Kentucky, and all those who passed up and down the Ohio River. The Delawares were, as ever, divided, though great efforts were made by the Wyandots, and other tribes more nearly under British influence, to persuade or drive them into the war.* Those more distant nations themselves waited only for the opportunity to strike some decided blow, and, meanwhile, continued to harass the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, causing great distress and fear. Through their incursions during the autumn of 1777, the steps taken by Hamilton, then Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit, to enlist the savages, became known, some of his proclamations having been left by them during their visits; and Congress was led to feel the necessity of now becoming masters, if possible, of those western posts, from which arms, ammunition, and spirits were supplied to the inimical red men. Upon the 20th of November a report was made to Congress, in which this necessity was urged, and also the need that existed, of taking some measures to prevent the spirit of disaffection from spreading among the frontier inhabitants.† Three commissioners also were chosen to go to Fort Pitt, for the purpose of inquiring into the causes of the frontier difficulties, and of doing what could be done to secure all the whites to the American cause, to cultivate the friendship of the Shawanese and Delawares, and to concert with General

* Heckewelder's *Narrative*, pp. 150, *et seq.* — Butler's *Kentucky*.
† *Old Journals*, Vol. II. p. 340.

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Hand some measures for pushing the war westward, so as to obtain possession of Detroit and other posts. General Washington was also requested to send Colonel William Crawford, an old pioneer, to take the active command in the West; and he accordingly left head-quarters upon the 25th.*

While Congress was resolving upon the necessity of capturing Detroit and Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, there was one man west of the mountains, who was also resolving, not only that it must be done, but that he would do it. This was George Rogers Clark, a man whose biography is not yet written, but who may compare with any general of our Revolution, except the matchless one, for decision, intrepidity, energy, forethought, and good sense. He was the best soldier that has ever led our troops against the Indians, and knew, better than any other man of his day, how to control those uncontrollable beings. Clark was the true founder of Kentucky, and deserves to have his name enrolled among those of whom full and detailed biographies are written. We hope that some one of the innumerable penmen of the day will be wise enough, and patriotic enough, to collect the papers and anecdotes which are still accessible, and combine them into such a form as he can. We care not very much, indeed, what the form of such a work, published now, is, provided it does but collect and perpetuate the materials, from which a nobler and more perfect work may be prepared by and by.

Clark went to the West in 1775. In 1776 he was busy in organizing his adopted land, Kentucky, in order to prepare her for becoming an independent State. In 1777, perceiving that it was from Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Vincennes, and Detroit, that the Indians, who never ceased to annoy the pioneers, were supplied, he sent spies to examine the state of things at and about those posts; and, having received their report, upon the 1st of October, he started for Virginia, to lay the matter before the governor of the parent State. Patrick Henry was then in the executive chair of Virginia; and to him Clark made known his plans early in December. The Governor liked the proposed campaign very much, but could scarce think it possible it should succeed, so distant were the posts to be attacked, so small the force that could

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. V. p. 169.

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be used for the purpose, and so mighty the power of Britain. However, Burgoyne had been defeated, and the colonists were gathering courage; Clark was well known as a most active and persevering man; and, his purposes having been fully explained, and fully approved by competent and critical judges, he succeeded in getting the Governor and Council to enter heart and soul into his scheme, and upon the 2d of January received his orders and outfit. Of his various acts and his wonderful success, we shall say little, referring our readers to the account already given by us of him, when reviewing Mr. Butler's "History of Kentucky." *

We have now, in our rambling way, brought matters down to the opening of 1778. During the spring of that year, there continued the same uncertainty as to the intentions of the western and northern tribes, and the outposts still suffered from incursions and petty attacks. A fort was built, early in the summer of that year, upon the banks of the Ohio a little below Pittsburg, near the spot where Beaver now stands. It was built by General M^cIntosh, and was named with his name.† From this point it was intended to operate in reducing Detroit, where mischief was still brewing. Indeed, the natives were now more united than ever against the colonies. In June we find Congress in possession of information, that led them to think a universal frontier war close at hand. ‡ The Senecas, Cayugas, Mingoes (by which, we presume, were meant the Ohio Iroquois, or possibly the Mohawks), Wyandots, Onondagas, Ottawas, Chippeways, Shawanese, and Delawares, were all said to be more or less united in opposition to America. This union, Mr. Stone hints, was brought about by Brant; § but he gives us no evidence on that point. Indeed, he has not much to say about the subject of his biography in this portion of it, most of his pages being filled with accounts of those events in which Brant took part only now and then. Congress, learning the danger to be so immediate and great, determined to push on the Detroit expedition, and ordered another to be undertaken up the Mohawk valley against the Senecas, who might otherwise very much annoy and impede the march

* *North American Review*, Vol. XLIII. pp. 1 *et seq.*
† Doddridge, p. 243. — Silliman's *Journal*, Vol. XXXI. Art. I.
‡ *Journals of the Old Congress*, Vol. II. p. 585.
§ Stone, Vol. I. p. 304.

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from Port Pitt. For the capture of Detroit, three thousand Continental troops and two thousand five hundred militia were voted; an appropriation was made of nearly a million of dollars; and General McIntosh, who had been appointed late in May,* by Washington, to succeed General Hand as commander of Fort Pitt and the western forces, was to carry forward the needful operations.

All the flourish which was made about taking Detroit, however, and conquering the Senecas, ended in the Resolves of Congress, it being finally thought too late in the season for advantageous action, and also too great an undertaking for the weak-handed colonies.† Clark, however, held on his way, and did his work, reducing Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes, and catching the "hair-buying General" Hamilton.

But, strange to say, on the very night on which Clark entered Kaskaskia, far away in the western wilderness, and sent his men yelling, like Indians, round the town, in order to scare the inhabitants into non-resistance, on that same night *genuine* Indian yells,

> "And sounds that mingled laugh, and shout, and scream,"

were echoing through the vale of Wyoming.

Of all that was horrible in the transactions of that night, and of the many errors and exaggerations in the accounts of it, we shall say nothing, but refer the reader to Mr. Stone, who purges the Indians in part, and Brant entirely, of blame. Indeed the Mohawk chieftain had been acquitted of any share in that night's doings by Campbell, who had damned him to everlasting fame as a monster, some years since.

Nor was Wyoming the only place which suffered during the summer of 1778. It was on the 4th of July, that the beautiful valley of the Susquehanna was sacked, and, on the 18th, Brant, with his fire and knife, was busy on the Mohawk. In the remote West there was trouble too. Boone, who had passed his winter and spring among the Shawanese, a prisoner, and yet a trusted friend (so genuine a woodsman was he), went from them upon the 16th of June "at sunrise," leaving no message, for he saw that near five hundred warriors were gathering to attack Kentucky. Four days he trav-

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. V. p. 382.
† *Journals of the Old Congress*, Vol. II. p. 633.

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elled, averaging forty miles a day, and ate one meal on the journey, and then reached Boonesborough. Here he prepared every thing for war, and sat recruiting until the 1st of August, when he started with nineteen men to attack a town on the Scioto, far in the enemy's country. He was gone a week, and got back just before his post was called to surrender by a large body of Indians, who came, with a dozen Frenchmen, to demand the country in the name of his British Majesty. Boone, having no acquaintance with his British Majesty, but being intimate with the Shawanese, and knowing their pleasant mode of treating prisoners, declined ; and then came a siege of ten days, in which so many guns were fired, that the besieged, afterwards, picked up one hundred and twenty-five pounds of bullets on the ground about the fort. The British force of French and Indians, having used up their ammunition, and lost about forty men, at last determined to retire, and leave Kentucky in peace again.*

The siege of Boonesborough was raised upon the 20th of August, and within a few days after that time another movement was made by Brant and his bloody followers against the settlement of German Flats. This settlement was about the junction of West Canada Creek, the stream on which are Trenton Falls, with the Mohawk river, and was one of the richest frontier posts. This attack was followed, in November, by the destruction of the settlement at Cherry Valley, nearly south of the Flats. Here the scenes of Wyoming were reënacted, and, as most have written, under the eye of Brant again ; but Mr. Stone is prompt to defend his hero against all charges of cruelty, and presents us with strong reasons for thinking this, too, a slander. He had not the command, he says, and, though present, did all in his power to prevent, not to forward slaughter.

We have only one other act to record of 1778 ; the movement of General M^cIntosh. When it was found to be beyond hope to take Detroit at once, it was resolved, that the forces in the West should move up, and attack the Wyandots and other Indians about the Sandusky ; † and a body of troops was accordingly marched forward to prepare a half-way house, or post, by which the necessary connexion might be kept up. This was built upon the Tuscarawas, a few miles

* Butler's *Kentucky*, pp. 96, *et seq.*
† *Journals of the Old Congress*, Vol. II. p. 633.

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south of where Bolivar now is, and was called Fort Laurens; the Ohio canal, in these peaceful days, passes directly through it.* Here Colonel John Gibson was left with one hundred and fifty men to get through the winter as he best could, while M^cIntosh himself returned to Pittsburg, disappointed and dispirited.† Nor was Congress in a very good humor with him, for already had six months passed to no purpose. Washington was consulted, but could give no definite advice, knowing nothing of those details which must determine the course of things for the winter. M^cIntosh, at length, in February, asked leave to retire from his unsatisfactory command, and was allowed to do so. His garrison at Fort Laurens, meantime, had been suffering cruelly, both from the Indians and famine, and, though finally rescued from starvation, had done, and could do, nothing.

But, while M^cIntosh was groaning and doing nothing, his fellow General, Clark, was very differently employed. Governor Hamilton, having made his various arrangements, had left Detroit, and moved down to St. Vincent's (or Vincennes), on the Wabash, from which point he intended to operate in reducing Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and also in conquering Kentucky, and driving the rebels from the West. But in the very process of taking St. Vincent's, he met with treatment that might have caused a more modest man to doubt the possibility of conquering those rebels. Hamilton came upon that post, which had been surrendered to the Americans in the summer of 1778, in December of that year. He came with a large body of troops, and unexpectedly; so that there was no chance of defence on the part of the garrison, which consisted of only two men, Captain Helm, of Fauquier in Virginia, and one Henry. Helm, however, was not disposed to yield, absolutely, to any odds; so, loading his single cannon, he stood by it with a lighted match, and, as the British came nigh, bade them stand, and demanded to know what terms would be granted the garrison, as otherwise he should not surrender. The Governor, unwilling to lose time and men, offered the usual honors of war, and could scarce believe his eyes, when he saw the threatening garrison to be only one officer and one private. However, even this bold conduct did not make him feel the character

* Doddridge, p. 244. — Silliman's *Journal*, Vol. XXXI. p. 57.
† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. VI. p. 156.

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of the people with whom he was contending; and so, thinking it too late to operate in such a country, he scattered his Indians, of whom he had some four hundred, and sat himself down for the winter.

Information of all these proceedings having reached Clark, he saw, at once, that either he must have Hamilton, or Hamilton would have him; so he cast about him, to see what means of conquest were within his reach. On the 29th of January, 1779, the news of the capture of St. Vincent's reached Kaskaskia, and, by the 4th of February, a "battoe," as Colonel Bowman writes it, had been repaired, provisioned, manned, and armed, and was on her way down the Mississippi, in order to ascend the Ohio and Wabash, and coöperate with the land forces which were assembling. These forces, on the 5th of February, numbered one hundred and seventy men, "including artillery, packhorsemen, &c." and with this little band, on that day Clark set forward to besiege the British governor, who had under him about half as many men, as a garrison. It was "rain and drizzly weather," and the "roads very bad with mud and water;" but through those prairie ways, and the waters which covered some of the plains, the little rebel band slipped and spattered along, crossing rivers on trees felled for the purpose, and killing a buffalo occasionally, but all the way marching through unceasing rain, till, upon the 13th, they reached the Wabash. This they crossed in a canoe, it being three miles from shore to shore, the whole country between the Great and Little Wabash, near the junction of which they were, being under water, in consequence of the extraordinary rains; and "still raining," writes Colonel Bowman, every day. It was what we call in New England "a spell of weather." And, in addition to all this water, there was lack of provisions; on the 19th, says Bowman's Journal, "No food of any sort for two days;" and, on the 20th, he writes, "Camp very quiet, but hungry." But the wet and hungry little army was now almost in sight of St. Vincent's, and heard the Governor's guns, morning and evening, so that provisions were less necessary. They at times killed a deer, also, and had a mouthful all round. On the 23d, however, matters seemed desperate. The weather had grown cooler, so that it froze, and the men were marching across a plain, four miles in diameter, with the water breast high. Notwithstanding all

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this, though, they made progress, and on that day saw the town ; and that night, with "colors flying, and drums braced, and water up to their arm-pits," marched up to the post and besieged it. The next morning, the poor drenched army had a breakfast, "the only meal's victuals" for six days.

Through all the toil, the marching, the wading, and the starving, Clark had been, as we might suppose, foremost ; and he now felt disposed to show no favor to those who had brought him so far, and through such roads. His demand upon the Governor to yield was not, therefore, written with that regard to formal diplomacy, which the Briton would have liked. Thus ran the missive.

"SIR, — In order to save yourself from the impending storm which now threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender yourself, with all your garrison, stores, &c. ; for, if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting any house in town ; for, by Heaven ! if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you. G. R. CLARK."

To this the Governor replied, that he could not think of being "awed into any action unworthy a British subject" ; but his true feeling peeped out in his question to Helm, when the bullets rattled about the chimney of the room in which they were playing piquet together, and Helm swore that Clark would have them prisoners. "Is he a merciful man ?" said the Governor.

Clark, finding the British unwilling to yield quietly, began "firing very hot." When this came on, Helm cautioned the English soldiers not to look out through the loop-holes ; for these Virginian riflemen, he said, would shoot their eyes out, if they did. And several being actually killed by balls which came through the port-holes, Hamilton was led to propose a truce, and some conversation ; which ended in a surrender of the fort to Clark.*

Detroit was now within the reach of the enterprising Virginian, had he but been able to raise one third as many soldiers as were starving and idling at forts Laurens and M^cIntosh. He could not ; and Governor Henry having promised him a

* Butler's *Kentucky* and Bowman's *Manuscript Journal.*

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reinforcement, he concluded to wait for that, as his force was too small to both conquer and garrison the British forts. But the results of what was done were not unimportant; indeed, we cannot estimate those results. Hamilton had made arrangements to enlist the western and southern Indians * for the next spring's campaign; and, if Mr. Stone be correct in his suppositions, Brant and his Iroquois were to act in concert with him.† Had Clark, therefore, failed to conquer the Governor, there is too much reason to fear, that the West would have been, indeed, swept, from the Mississippi to the mountains, and the great blow struck, which had been contemplated, from the outset, by Britain. But for his small army of dripping, but fearless Virginians, the union of all the tribes from Georgia to Maine, against the colonies, might have been effected, and the whole current of our history changed.

Before leaving Clark, we would notice one expression, used by Mr. Stone, which does that bold partisan injustice. He says, "An expedition was organized against Kaskaskia, and Clark intrusted with the command of it;"‡ whereas the truth was, as we have stated, that Clark *originated* and carried through the whole plan.

Turning from the West to the North, we find a new cause of trouble arising there. Of the six tribes of the Iroquois, the Senecas, Mohawks, Cayugas, and Onondagas, had been, from the outset, inclining to Britain, though all of these, but the Mohawks, had now and then tried to persuade the Americans to the contrary. During the winter of 1778–9, the Onondagas, who had been for a while nearly neutral, were suspected, by the Americans, of deception; and, this suspicion having become nearly knowledge, a band was sent, early in April, to destroy their towns, and take such of them, as could be taken, prisoners. The work appointed was done, and the villages and wealth of the poor savages were annihilated. This sudden act of severity startled all. The Oneidas, hitherto faithful to their neutrality, were alarmed, lest the next blow should fall on them, and it was only after a full explanation, that their fears were quieted. As for the Onondagas, it was not to be hoped that they would sit down under such treatment; and we find, accordingly, that some hundred of their warriors were at once in the field, and from that time

* Butler, p. 80. † Stone, Vol. I. p. 400. ‡ Ibid., p. 352.

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forward, a portion of their nation remained, and, we think, justly, hostile to the United Colonies.*

Those colonies, meanwhile, had become convinced, from the massacres at Wyoming and Cherry Valley, that it was advisable to adopt some means of securing the northwestern and western frontiers against the recurrence of such catastrophes; and, the hostile tribes of the Six Nations being the most numerous and deadly foes, it was concluded to begin by strong action against them. Washington had always said, that the only proper mode of defence against the Indians was to attack them, and this mode he determined to adopt on this occasion. Some difference of opinion existed, however, as to the best path into the country of the inimical Iroquois; that most lovely country in the west of New York, which is now fast growing into a granary for millions of men. General Schuyler was in favor of a movement up the Mohawk river; the objection to which route was, that it carried the invaders too near to Lake Ontario, and within reach of the British. The other course proposed was up the Susquehanna, which heads, as all know, in the region that was to be reached. The latter route was the one determined upon by Washington for the main body of troops, which was to be joined by another body moving up the Mohawk, and also by detachments coming from the western army, by the way of the Alleghany and French Creek; upon further thought, however, the movement from the West was countermanded.† All the arrangements for this grand blow were made in March and April, but it was the last of July before General Sullivan got his men under way from Wyoming, where they had gathered; and, of course, information of the proposed movements had been given to the Indians and Tories, so that Brant, the Johnsons, and their followers, stood ready to receive the invaders.

They were not, however, strong enough to withstand the Americans; and, having been defeated at the battle of Newtown, were driven from village to village, and their whole country was laid waste. Houses were burned, crops and orchards destroyed, and every thing done, that could be thought of, to render the country uninhabitable. Of all these steps Mr. Stone speaks fully. Forty towns, he tells us, were burnt,

* Stone, Vol. I. p. 405. † Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. VI. pp. 183, *et seq.*

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and more than one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn. Well did the Senecas name Washington, whose armies did all this, "the Town-Destroyer." Having performed this portion of his work, Sullivan turned homeward again from the beautiful valley of the Genesee; leaving Niagara, whither the Indians fled, as to the stronghold of British power in that neighbourhood, untouched. This conduct, Mr. Stone thinks "difficult of solution,"* as he supposes the conquest of that post to have been one of the main objects of the expedition. Such, however, was not the fact. Originally it had been part of the proposed plan to attack Niagara;† but, early in January, Washington was led to doubt, and then to abandon, that part of the plan, thinking it wiser to carry on, merely, "some operations on a smaller scale against the savages."‡

One of these smaller operations was the march of Colonel Daniel Brodhead, who had succeeded M^cIntosh in command at Fort Pitt, against the tribes along the Alleghany and up French Creek. These tribes Washington speaks of, as "the Mingo and Muncey tribes," to which Mr. Stone *adds* the Senecas, § as though he were ignorant, that the Senecas formed one of the Mingo tribes, the very one, doubtless, referred to by Washington under the general term. The towns of these Indians were also laid waste, and their crops destroyed.

The immediate result of these prompt and severe measures, was to bring the Delawares, Shawanese, and even the Wyandots, to Fort Pitt, on a treaty of peace. There Brodhead met them, on his return in September, and a long conference was held, to the satisfaction of both parties. Further west, in July, Colonel Bowman had made an unsuccessful attack upon the Shawanese village, known to us as Chillicothe, in the Miami country; and, in November, Rogers and Benham suffered terribly in a battle with the savages opposite the mouth of the Little Miami. Into the particulars of these battles we cannot enter. Indeed, much as has been written about them, we are yet in the dark, touching many points that ought to be perfectly understood. For instance, there is still some doubt as to the position of the In-

* Vol. II. p. 36.
† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. VI. pp 120, 146.
‡ Ibid., pp. 162–166.
§ Vol. II. p. 41.

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dian towns, against which expeditions marched from Kentucky, in 1779, 1780, and afterwards. And with respect to those very savages, from whom Rogers and his comrades suffered so much, there is doubt. Butler says, they were going against Kentucky, "under Birde, a Canadian Frenchman," and quotes from a letter written to him by the son of Benham, who was with the sufferers, and one of the greatest of them. But did not Mr. Benham, the son, refer to that expedition, under Colonel Byrd, in June, 1780, spoken of by Butler a little further on ?*

The events of 1779, in the West, with the exception of Clark's grand blow, were far less favorable than among, and east of, the mountains. The next year, however, saw the scene reversed ; for, though Byrd, with forces such as had not been before seen on the dark and bloody ground, marched into the very centre of it, and seemed in the way of utterly sweeping it of its settlers and stations, he in truth did but little. And that little was more than avenged by the excursion of Clark against the Miami Shawanese. With nearly a thousand men he marched from the spot where Cincinnati now stands, against the towns upon the Little Miami and Mad River, all of which he destroyed, together with the crops standing about them, and so effectually defeated and stripped the savages, as to prevent any considerable annoyance, on their part, for more than a twelvemonth afterwards.† The Mohawk valley, during that same summer, saw other scenes enacted. The Johnsons and Brant came upon it three several times, burning, killing, wasting ; so that, by autumn, the whole country, above Schenectady, was a wilderness. It was a fearful retaliation for the devastations of Sullivan. In the course of that sad summer many curious and interesting events and adventures occurred, of which Mr. Stone speaks

* See Butler, pp. 103, 110, 550. Upon this and many similar points of western history, we hope to be enlightened by a work, which we hear that Dr. Drake, of Cincinnati, has in hand ; a full history of that city, founded upon an Address, delivered by him at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of that growing place. This writer, as a writer of fact, takes precedence, in our opinion, of all those that have thus far arisen in the West. His "Picture of Cincinnati," published twenty years since, is still sought after, and deservedly so. It is just what it claimed to be. And we do not doubt, that his forthcoming work will be equally creditable to him and his adopted land ; for we believe that he is not a native of the West, though early there.

† Butler, pp. 110, 117.

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fully. Indeed, this is among the most interesting and original portions of his volumes. Into most of his details we cannot, of course, follow him, but must ask our reader's patience, for a few moments, while we tell the story of the Sammons family, greatly abridged, however, from the narrative given by our author.*

Old Mr. Sammons, with three sons and one or more daughters, lived upon the old Johnson estate, which had been sequestrated. Sampson, the father, was a sturdy old Whig, and well known to Sir John, whom he had often had a talk with about the rebellion. His sons, Frederick, Jacob, and Thomas, the youngest eighteen at the time of which we write, were much of the same mind and body; young Sampsons, knotty and fearless. Sir John, knowing their characters, thought he would catch them alive, and take them to Canada; so he sent his Indians out of the way, and, by good management, captured the whole race early in the morning, without a blow. The old man and his boys were at once bound, and marched off in the direction of Canada, though but a little way. That night the youngest boy, by the aid of the wife of a British officer, managed to escape; and the next morning, the father, having procured an interview with the Tory chief, read him such a lecture upon the ingratitude of thus treating one, who had formerly stood by him, and upon the iniquity of his conduct generally, that he too was set free, and a span of his horses returned to him. But Frederick and Jacob were less fortunate, and were taken to the fortress of Chamblee, just within Canada, between Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence. At that post there were about seventy prisoners, and not a very strong garrison; so that the first thing, to which the young Sampsons made up their minds, was an escape. Finding however, their fellow-captives indisposed to do any thing for themselves, Jacob and Frederick determined to act without the rest; and, accordingly, the first time they were taken out of the fort together, to assist in some common service, they sprang from the ranks, at a concerted signal, and "put," as the phrase is in the West. The guards, startled, and less fleet of foot, could not catch them, and, though Jacob fell and sprained his ancle, he managed, under cover of the

* Stone, Vol. II. pp. 72 – 136.

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smoke, produced by the gun-shots made at them, to hide himself in a clump of bushes, which his pursuers did not think of searching. It had been agreed, previously, between the brothers, that, in case of separation, they were to meet at a known spot at ten o'clock at night. Jacob, the lame one, mistook the hour, and, having gone to the spot and not finding his brother there, he left it, with the intention of getting as far from the fort as possible before daylight, his accident making time especially important to him. He accordingly pushed up the western bank of the Sorel river toward Lake Champlain, intending to swim it just below the lake, and then find his way along the eastern shore. Various events, however, occurred to prevent his doing this; but, after running great risk, by putting himself within the power of a Tory, whose chief excellence seems to have been the possession of a most kind and fearless wife, he was so lucky as to find a canoe, of which he took charge, and in which he made good headway toward home, until, in one of the narrow passes of Champlain, the British fortifications, on both sides, forced him to leave his vessel and take to the woods again.

He was without shoes, food, or gun, and had to find his way to Albany, through an unknown wilderness, along the Vermont shore. For four days he lived on birch-bark. Then he caught a few fish, and managed also to secure a wild duck. The fish and duck he ate raw. Thus he labored on during ten days. His feet, meanwhile, had become so badly cut, and so intolerably sore, that he could scarce crawl, and swarms of musquitoes made every moment of rest a moment of misery. While thus wretched and worn out, he was bitten upon the calf of the leg by a rattlesnake. And what did this young Sampson do then? Yield and die? Not he. With one stroke of his jack-knife he laid his leg open, producing a plenteous flow of blood; and, with another, slew the poisonous reptile. And then came a day or two of such experience as few meet with in this life. Sammons, worn to a skeleton, with feet ragged from wear and tear, — his leg wounded and not a soul within twenty miles to help, — lay there under the log where he had been bitten, a little fire burning by him, which he had kindled by the aid of a dry fungus, — living on the rattlesnake which he had slain! He ate the heart and fat first, says Mr. Stone, and felt strengthened by the repast. What a power there is in such a soul!

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Truly he might say with Sampson of old, "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." There he lay, under that log, for three days; patient and surgeon, sick man, hunter, cook, and nurse, all in one. On the third day his snake was nearly picked to the bones, and he was too weak to fetch wood to cook the remainder. Sammons made up his mind, that death could not be postponed; and, having already shown how little division of labor was needed in such cases, determined to essay one more office, and by his knife proceeded to carve his epitaph on the log by his side. But God was not afar off from that brave man. He fell asleep, and strength from unknown sources flowed into his limbs. On the fourth day he rose refreshed, and, having made sandals of his hat and waistcoat, proceeded to hobble on his way once more, taking with him, as stores, the unconsumed portion of his snake. That night, again, he was comforted, being assured, by some means unknown to him, that he was near fellow-men. Rising with this faith, he struggled on till afternoon, when he reached a house and was safe. It was the 28th of June, 1780. Such were the fortunes of Jacob Sammons.

His brother Frederick, was less fortunate. He had made many efforts, to no purpose, to find Jacob, who, when he fell, would not permit Frederick to stop and help him; and, in seeking him, had run many risks. At length he crossed the Sorel; killed an ox; made himself some jerked beef; and for seven days travelled along the eastern shore of Champlain without ill luck. But, on the morning of the 8th day, he awoke sick; a pleurisy was upon him; a fever in his veins; pain in every limb. It began to rain also, and there he lay, this other young Sampson, close by his brother, who, at that very moment, in that very neighbourhood, was nursing his rattlesnake bite;—there he lay, knowing not that any was near him, for three days, on the earth, in the summer rain, and his blood all on fire. For three days, we say, he lay thus helpless. On the fourth day he was better, and tried to eat a little of his beef, but it was spoiled. He managed, however, to crawl to a frog-pond near by, a green and slimy pond, where the last year's leaves were rotting, and the bubbles rose of a hot day. He crawled thither, and put aside the green coating of the pool, and drank. He caught frogs, too, and feasted, though not a Frenchman in

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any of his tastes probably. There he lay, for fourteen days and nights, living by the life that was in him. Having expected death, he put up his hat upon a pole, so that it might be seen from the lake. It was seen by an enemy ; and he was found senseless and speechless, and carried, — shame on the human creature that bore him, — back to his prison again. And not to his prison only, but to its darkest dungeon ; and there, for fourteen months, in utter darkness, he lay in irons ; in irons so heavy and so tight, that they ate into the flesh of his legs, so that the flesh came off to the bone. And for fifty-six years afterwards, — for this young Sampson was living in 1837, and may be living yet, — the wounds then made did not heal. The British officer, whose heart enabled him, knowingly, to do this thing, was named (how aptly !) Steele. He was a Captain in the thirty-second regiment. May God have mercy upon his soul.

But our Sampson's adventures are not yet ended ; for neither was his captivity over, nor his spirit broken. In November, 1781, he, with others, was transferred to an island above Montreal, in the rapids of the St. Lawrence. There he, as a first step, organized another plot for escape, which failed, and, as a second step, jumped, with one other, from the island into the rapids of the great river. For four miles, through those rapids, our hero and his comrade swam, navigating among the sharp rocks and fearful shoals with what skill they had. Landing on the north side of the St. Lawrence, they fought a clubbattle with a village-full of Canadian Frenchmen ; conquered ; killed a calf ; and, seizing a canoe, tried to cross to the south side of the river. They were above the rapids of the Cedars, where no canoe can live long unguided, when their paddle broke in the mid-stream ; and once more destruction seemed certain. A fallen tree, in the branches of which they caught, saved them, however ; and, crossing the next day below the falls, they struck into the forest to seek the Hudson. For twelve more days they toiled on, living on roots, without shoes, without clothes, without hats, and reached Schenectady at last, in a plight that made Christian men give them a wide berth.

To close this strange, eventful history, — strange, and yet nowise improbable, — we have a statement which is of a kind to make men doubt, — perhaps to doubt the whole.

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We will give it. When Frederick reached Schenectady, — so runs the tale, — he wrote to his father. This letter went to a Mr. De Witt's, who lived some five miles from old Sampson, and there got misplaced. Jacob, who had long since settled into his usual ways once more, when he came down to breakfast one morning, said, that he had dreamed that Frederick was well and safe, and that a letter from him lay at neighbour De Witt's. The old father laughed at the fancy of the boy, and the sisters smiled, and shook their heads, and wished it were so; but Jacob persisted it was so, and saddled his horse and rode over. Neighbour De Witt heard his young friend, and chuckled over his notion, but said there was no such letter. "Look," said Jacob; so the good man looked, but said there was no letter there. "Look harder," said Jacob, "move the things, and see if it has not fallen down somewhere." The worthy farmer humored his adventurous neighbour, and moved this table, and that ironing-board, and the great settle, and by and by the flour-barrel. "Ha! what 's that? a letter, true enough. 'To Sampson Sammons, Marbletown.'" — "Well," said De Witt, "if this is not strange! Why, it must have been left by that officer, that went along to Philadelphia last night." "Hark to me," said Jacob, "and see if dreams don't reveal things. Do you open the letter and read it, and see if I cannot tell you what's in it." The amazed countryman opened and read, and Jacob repeated it word for word.

Such is Mr. Stone's account, based upon the statements of the Sammonses and De Witt. One question naturally occurs to the reader; Did Mr. Stone write it after his studies in Animal Magnetism at Providence?

But we must leave these details, and return to finish, in a few words, our process of skeletonizing. It is one of the great miseries of historical review writers, that they must often confine their labors to the most barren sketching, leaving it for others to supply those minute and personal matters to which history owes so much of its value and charm.

But, before returning to what little remains of our dry narrative, let us briefly look back over the six years which have passed since the campaign of Dunmore, in the autumn of 1774.

During 1775 offers were made, both by the Americans

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and English, to the Indians, and attempts to hold them neutral, or win them to one or the other side. The savages, longing generally to see the invaders driven from their hunting-grounds, and knowing, apart from all merits, that the Americans possessed those grounds, were inclined to side with England; and hesitated, in most instances, only till the result of the first campaign should show them the probable result of the contest. The Oneidas, and the branch of the Delawares led by White-Eyes, were exceptions to this general state of the red men. They were from the outset, and continued till the last, true friends of the provinces. The year 1775, therefore, produced no results, so far as active operations were concerned. But the general tendency of the Iroquois in the north, the Delawares, Shawanese, Wyandots, Miamis, and Chippeways, in the west, and the Cherokees, Creeks, and Chickasaws, in the south, was in favor of England.

In 1776, the Iroquois went over openly to Britain; the Shawanese, and their more western neighbours, were also minded to war for the mother country; and in the south the Cherokees rose, laid waste the Carolina frontiers, and were conquered.

The years 1777 — 1780 found the Iroquois first scourging the valleys of the Mohawk and upper Susquehanna; then houseless themselves; and then, once more in the ascendant, laying waste the country of their foes, till it was a desert from Ontario to the Hudson. Those same years found the Delawares still divided, but the American party faithful to their original undertaking. This fidelity at last, after the death of White-Eyes, who died in the winter of 1779–80, at Fort Laurens, of small-pox, obliged the chiefs to leave their country and go to Pittsburg; Pipe having, after the decease of his great rival and controller, obtained a strong influence in the nation. In the autumn of 1780, therefore, we may say that the Delawares were mainly in the British interest.

The Shawanese, from 1776 to 1780, were also in the main against the colonies, one tribe only being with them; but this nation had suffered so much from the Kentuckians, that in the autumn of 1780 they were very quiet.

Their northwestern neighbours had suffered less, and were less overawed, but yet had been much cooled, in their loy-

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alty to England, by Clark's campaigns on the Mississippi and Wabash.

The Cherokees, during this time, had been quiet, but were fast rousing to action again. Had not Hamilton been captured, they would have been with him in his devastation of the western country; and they stood ready to strike whenever the time came. That time came, as they thought, in the summer of 1781, and an attack was made by the Cherokees and Chickasaws upon the frontiers of South Carolina. It did, however, but little damage; and General Pickens, with about four hundred men on horseback, having ridden into the Indian country, and tried upon them a new mode of attack, — namely, a sudden charge with swords, — the warriors gave way. In fourteen days the General destroyed thirteen towns, and took many prisoners, and all without the loss of a man. In the autumn a new treaty of peace was made, and after that time no further trouble occurred with those two tribes. Their neighbours, the Creeks, tried their hand against General Wayne, near Savannah, in June of the following year. They fought well, and for a time had the better of the battle; but in the end were defeated. Peace was preserved with them also from that time.*

During 1781 the Iroquois and their helpmates, the Tories, were wasting and slaughtering with renewed vigor, and but one happy event for the colonists occurred in the regions which they visited. That was the death of Walter N. Butler, the famous Tory leader, a man of great ability, great courage, and vile passions; a sort of reversed Marion. He was killed in one of the skirmishes of October, 1781, by an Oneida Indian.† After that autumn no hostile events of importance occurred in the Mohawk valley.

We have left us, then, for examination only the doings in the west, and they were too bad to speak of otherwise than briefly. We have, already, in the course of this sketch, presented, or rather hinted at, our views of British proceedings respecting the employment of the savages. The mere enlisting of those wild allies we cannot think, in the men of that day, reprehensible. The patriots of Massachusetts and Washington would never have advocated such an enlistment, had the measure possessed to their minds the objectionable

* *Holmes's Annals*, 1781 and 1782. † *Stone*, Vol. II. p. 191.

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features which some see in it now-a-days. For ourselves, we see no more objection to an alliance with red men than white men, unless it can be shown to perpetuate bad blood, and produce renewed quarrel. The secrecy of the British orders and acts, we think, should long since have been dropped. If England did right, why hide her doings? If wrong, let her own them and repent. The scalp-buying we object to, as leading to personal hostility. The conduct of the Tories and Indians at Wyoming, Cherry Valley, and during the invasion of the Mohawk, was full of evil, as war must be; but we have no charge against Britain for those acts.

Upon the whole, then, the very considerable outcry against British cruelty, during the border wars, we think unfounded. We do not know of an act equal in treachery to the capture and murder of Cornstalk; nor any that can compete, in point of cruelty, with those scenes in the West which it now becomes our painful duty to relate.

We have already said not a little respecting the Delawares upon the Muskingum; but, in order to make intelligible those events to which we are now coming, we must speak of them more particularly. Some years before the revolutionary war began, those Delaware Indians, who had been converted to Christianity by the United brethren, or Moravians, had been invited by the Delawares living upon the Muskingum, to come and settle in their country.* This they did, and built there several flourishing towns. There were, therefore, at the time of which we have been treating, three classes of Delawares upon that river; the heathen peace party, which was led by White-Eyes, the heathen war party under Pipe, and the Christian Delawares. The last-named people had nothing to do with the contests between the colonies and the mother country; but, as their towns were situated about the forks of the Muskingum, and near the great war-path from the Wyandot and Miami country to the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, they were at times visited by bands from each of the warring parties. This exposed them to suspicion; the Indians thought them renegades and spies; the whites called them secret foes, and accused them of aiding their heathen brethren.

* Heckewelder's *Narrative*, Doddridge, &c.

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So matters stood when, in the summer of 1781, Colonel Brodhead led a body of troops against some of the hostile Delawares. This, a portion of his followers thought, would be an excellent opportunity to destroy the Moravian towns, and it was with difficulty he could withhold them. He sent word to Heckewelder, and tried to prevent any attack upon the members of his flock. In this he appears to have succeeded; but he did not, perhaps could not, prevent the slaughter of the prisoners taken from the hostile Delawares. First, sixteen were coolly killed, and then nearly twenty. A chief, who came under assurances of safety to Brodhead's camp, was also murdered by a noted partisan, named Wetzel.

This took place in the spring or summer of 1781. About that same time, the British commanders in the Northwest made up their minds, that the settlements of the Moravians were a great evil in their way; as the Christian Delawares continually notified the frontier men of war-parties marching against them. It was therefore determined to destroy those settlements and remove the Indians, unless they would go, of their own accord, to some other point. This they would not do; and in the autumn, after long and frequent talks, which may be found in Heckewelder's "Narrative," the towns were abandoned, and the inhabitants removed to the Sandusky country, where they passed the winter in a most miserable condition. This removal the Americans appear to have looked on as a voluntary going over to the British.

In the spring of 1782, some of the Moravians, who had been literally starving through the winter, returned to their old places of abode, to gather what they could of the remainder of their property, and busied themselves in collecting the corn which had been left in the fields. About the time they returned for that purpose, parties of Wyandots came down upon the settlements, and slew many. This excited the frontier-men; and believing a connexion to exist between the acts of the Wyandots, and the late movements of the Moravians, it was determined to attack and exterminate the latter, or, at least, to waste their lands and destroy their towns. Eighty or ninety men met for the purpose of effecting the objects just named, and marched in silence and swiftness upon the devoted villages. They reached them; by threats and lies got hold of the gleaners scattered among them, and bound their prisoners, while they deliberated on their fate.

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Williamson, the commander of the party, put the question; Shall these men, women, and children, be taken to Pittsburg, or be killed? Of the eighty or ninety men present, sixteen or eighteen only were for granting their lives; and the prisoners were told to prepare for death. They prepared for death, and soon were dead; slaughtered, some say in one way, and some in another; but thus much is known, that eighty or ninety American men murdered, in cold blood, about forty men, twenty women, and thirty-four children, — all defenceless and innocent fellow Christians.

It was in March of 1782, that this great murder was committed. And as the tiger, once having tasted blood, longs for blood, so it was with the frontier-men; and another expedition was at once organized, to make a dash at the towns of the Moravian Delawares and Wyandots upon the Sandusky. No Indian was to be spared; friend or foe, every red man was to die. The commander of this expedition was Colonel William Crawford, Washington's old agent in the West. He did not want to go, but found it could not be avoided. The troops, numbering nearly five hundred men, marched to the Sandusky uninterrupted. There they found the towns deserted, and the savages on the alert. A battle ensued, and the whites were forced to retreat. In their retreat many left the main body, and nearly all who did so perished. Crawford himself was taken and burnt to death, under the most horrible circumstances. We cannot detail them. In short, the whole expedition was a failure, as none ever better deserved to be.

Crawford's campaign was in June. In August a very large body of Indians appeared in Kentucky. They were met by the whites at the Blue Licks, on the Licking river, and a defeat was suffered by the Americans, which was long felt in that region, and is still familiar to all who live there. It was not too severe, however, to prevent Clark, with a thousand men, from marching into the Indian country, in September, and laying it waste so effectually as to awe the natives into comparative quiet. After that time Kentucky suffered little.

This march of Clark's, in the autumn of 1782, was indeed the last decided movement in the border wars of our Revolution. After that, personal encounters alone took place. It is true, that the western wars did not cease with the Revo-

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lution. The Miamis and their allies afterwards came more prominently forward, and the well-known campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne wound up, for the time, the long Indian contest. From 1774 to 1795 there was not peace, northwest of the Ohio, between the white and red man. But into these wars we cannot enter, having already gone beyond our proposed limits.

Before closing, let us ask, however, What may be learned from a rapid survey of those wars which we have been glancing at?

We may learn, that England was less blameworthy than we have been used to think her.

We may learn, that the Indians took less pleasure in slaughter than we have been in the habit of saying they did. Even at Wyoming and Cherry Valley, the Tories were more murderers than their red allies.

We may learn some national modesty, by finding, that Americans were guilty of the greatest treachery and the most cold-blooded murder done in those times.

We may learn, in fine, tolerance for all. The Tory felt that he was contending against traitors, disorganizers, locofocos of the worst tint; the Whig against the tools of a tyrant, who had sold themselves into bondage for vile lucre; the Indian against the usurpers of his ancient and deep-rooted right. In all, the lowest and most desperate part of man's nature was called into action, and the result was, that all did evil and wrong, times without number.

We conclude with once more thanking Mr. Stone for his volumes. We do not think we have stated any thing which is not stated by him, and, usually, in a simple and interesting form. We wish, most heartily, that some one would follow his example, with regard to the border transactions in the South and West.

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ART. II. — *Sketches of English Literature; with Considerations on the Spirit of the Times, Men, and Revolutions.* By the Viscount de CHATEAUBRIAND. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1836.

THERE are few topics of greater attraction, or, when properly treated, of higher importance, than literary history. For what is it, but a faithful register of the successive steps, by which a nation has advanced in the career of civilization? Civil history records the crimes and the follies, the enterprises, discoveries, and triumphs, it may be, of humanity. But to what do all these tend, or of what moment are they, in the eye of the philosopher, except as they accelerate or retard the march of civilization? The history of literature is the history of the human mind. It is, as compared with other histories, the intellectual as distinguished from the material, — the informing spirit, as compared with the outward and visible.

When such a view of the mental progress of a people is combined with individual biography, we have all the materials for the deepest and most varied interest. The life of the man of letters is not always circumscribed by the walls of a cloister; and was not, even in those days when the cloister was the familiar abode of science. The history of Dante and of Petrarch is the best commentary on that of their age. In later times, the man of letters has taken part in all the principal concerns of public and social life. But, even when the story is to derive its interest from his own personal character, what a store of entertainment is supplied by the eccentricities of genius, the joys and sorrows, not visible to vulgar eyes, but which agitate his finer sensibilities, as powerfully as the greatest shocks of worldly fortune would a hardier and less visionary temper. What deeper interest can romance afford, than is to be gathered from the melancholy story of Petrarch, Tasso, Alfieri, Rousseau, Byron, Burns, and a crowd of familiar names, whose genius seems to have been given them only to sharpen their sensibility to suffering? What matter, if their sufferings were, for the most part, of the imagination? They were not the less real to *them*. They lived in a world of imagination, and by the gift of genius, unfortunate to its proprietor, have known how,

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in the language of one of the most unfortunate, "to make madness beautiful" in the eyes of others.

But, notwithstanding the interest and importance of literary history, it has hitherto received but little attention from English writers. No complete survey of the achievements of our native tongue has been yet produced, or even attempted. The earlier periods of the poetical developement of the nation have been well illustrated by various antiquaries. Warton has brought the history of poetry down to the season of its first vigorous expansion, — the age of Elizabeth. But he did not penetrate beyond the magnificent vestibule of the temple. Dr. Johnson's "Lives of the Poets" have done much to supply the deficiency in this department. But much more remains to be done, to afford the student any thing like a complete view of the progress of poetry in England. Johnson's work, as every one knows, is conducted on the most capricious and irregular plan. The biographies were dictated by the choice of the bookseller. Some of the most memorable names in British literature are omitted, to make way for a host of minor luminaries, whose dim radiance, unassisted by the magnifying lens of the Doctor, would never have penetrated to posterity. The same irregularity is visible in the proportion he has assigned to each of his subjects; the principal figures, or what should have been such, being often thrown into the background, to make room for some subordinate personage, whose story was thought to have more interest.

Besides these defects of plan, the critic was certainly deficient in sensibility to the more delicate, the minor beauties of poetic sentiment. He analyzes verse in the cold-blooded spirit of a chemist, until all the aroma, which constituted its principal charm, escapes in the decomposition. By this kind of process, some of the finest fancies of the Muse, the lofty dithyrambics of Gray, the ethereal effusions of Collins, and of Milton too, are rendered sufficiently vapid. In this sort of criticism, all the effect, that relies on *impressions*, goes for nothing. Ideas are alone taken into the account; and all is weighed in the same hard, matter-of-fact scales of common sense, like so much solid prose. What a sorry figure would Byron's Muse make, subjected to such an ordeal! The Doctor's taste in composition, to judge from his own style, was not of the highest order. It was a style,

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indeed, of extraordinary power, suited to the expression of his original thinking, bold, vigorous, and glowing, with all the lustre of pointed antithesis. But the brilliancy is cold, and the ornaments are much too florid and overcharged for a graceful effect. When to these minor blemishes we add the graver one of an obliquity of judgment, produced by inveterate political and religious prejudice, which has thrown a shadow over some of the brightest characters subjected to his pencil, we have summed up a fair amount of critical deficiencies. With all this, there is no one of the works of this great and good man, in which he has displayed more of the strength of his mighty intellect, shown a more pure and masculine morality, more sound principles of criticism, in the abstract, more acute delineation of character, and more gorgeous splendor of diction. His defects, however, such as they are, must prevent his maintaining, with posterity, that undisputed dictatorship in criticism, which was conceded to him in his own day. We must do justice to his errors, as well as to his excellences, in order that we may do justice to the characters which have come under his censure. And we must admit, that his work, however admirable as a gallery of splendid portraits, is inadequate to convey any thing like a complete or impartial view of English poetry.

The English have made but slender contributions to the history of foreign literatures. The most important, probably, are Roscoe's works, in which literary criticism, though but a subordinate feature, is the most valuable part of the composition. As to any thing like a general survey of this department, they are wholly deficient. The deficiency, indeed, is likely to be supplied, to a certain extent, by the work of Mr. Hallam, now in progress of publication ; the first volume of which, — the only one which has yet issued from the press, — gives evidence of the same curious erudition, acuteness, honest impartiality, and energy of diction, which distinguish the other writings of this eminent scholar. But the extent of his work, limited to four volumes, precludes any thing more than a survey of the most prominent features of the vast subject he has undertaken.

The Continental nations, under serious discouragements, too, have been much more active than the British, in this field. The Spaniards can boast a general history of letters, extending to more than twenty volumes in length, and com-

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piled with sufficient impartiality. The Italians have several such. Yet these are the lands of the Inquisition; where reason is hoodwinked, and the honest utterance of opinion has been recompensed by persecution, exile, and the stake. How can such a people estimate the character of compositions, which, produced under happier institutions, are instinct with the spirit of freedom? How can they make allowance for the manifold eccentricities of a literature, where thought is allowed to expatiate in all the independence of individual caprice? How can they possibly, trained to pay such nice deference to outward finish and mere verbal elegance, have any sympathy with the rough and homely beauties, which emanate from the people, and are addressed to the people?

The French, nurtured under freer forms of government, have contrived to come under a system of literary laws, scarcely less severe. Their first great dramatic production gave rise to a scheme of critical legislation, which has continued, ever since, to press on the genius of the nation, in all the higher walks of poetic art. Amidst all the mutations of state, the tone of criticism has remained essentially the same, to the present century, when, indeed, the boiling passions and higher excitements of a revolutionary age, have made the classic models, on which their literature was cast, appear somewhat too frigid; and a warmer coloring has been sought by an infusion of English sentiment. But this mixture, or rather confusion of styles, neither French nor English, seems to rest on no settled principles, and is, probably, too alien to the genius of the people to continue permanent.

The French, forming themselves early on a foreign and antique model, were necessarily driven to rules, as a substitute for those natural promptings, which have directed the course of other modern nations in the career of letters. Such rules, of course, while assimilating them to antiquity, drew them aside from sympathy with their own contemporaries. How can they, thus formed on an artificial system, enter into the spirit of other literatures, so uncongenial with their own?

That the French continued subject to such a system, with little change, to the present age, is evinced by the example of Voltaire; a writer, whose lawless ridicule,

> "like the wind,
> "Blew where it listed, laying all things prone;"

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but whose revolutionary spirit made no serious changes in the principles of the national criticism. Indeed, his commentaries on Corneille furnish evidence of a willingness to contract still closer the range of the poet, and to define more accurately the laws by which his movements were to be controlled. Voltaire's history affords an evidence of the truth of the Horatian maxim, "*Naturam expellas*," &c. In his younger days he passed some time, as is well known, in England; and contracted there a certain relish for the strange models which came under his observation. On his return, he made many attempts to introduce the foreign school, with which he had become acquainted, to his own countrymen. His vanity was gratified by detecting the latent beauties of his barbarian neighbours, and by being the first to point them out to his countrymen. It associated him with names venerated on the other side of the Channel, and, at home, transferred a part of their glory to himself. Indeed, he was not backward in transferring as much as he could of it, by borrowing on his own account, where he could venture, *manibus plenis*, and with very little acknowledgment. The French, at length, became so far reconciled to the monstrosities of their neighbours, that a regular translation of Shakspeare, the lord of the British Pandemonium, was executed by Letourneur, a *littérateur* of no great merit; but the work was well received. Voltaire, the veteran, in his solitude of Ferney, was roused by the applause bestowed on the English poet in his Parisian costume, to a sense of his own imprudence. He saw, in imagination, the altars which had been raised to him, as well as to the other master-spirits of the national drama, in a fair way to be overturned, in order to make room for an idol of his own importation. "Have you seen," he writes, speaking of Letourneur's version, "his abominable trash? Will you endure the affront put upon France by it? There are no epithets bad enough, nor fool's-caps, nor pillories enough, in all France, for such a scoundrel. The blood tingles in my old veins in speaking of him. What is the most dreadful part of the affair is, the monster has his party in France; and, to add to my shame and consternation, it was I who first sounded the praises of *this Shakspeare*; I, who first showed the pearls, picked here and there, from his overgrown dungheap. Little did I anticipate, that I was helping to trample under

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foot, at some future day, the laurels of Racine and Corneille, to adorn the brows of a barbarous player, — this drunkard of a Shakspeare." Not content with this expectoration of his bile, the old poet transmitted a formal letter of remonstrance to D'Alembert, which was read publicly, as designed, at a regular *séance* of the Academy. The document, after expatiating, at length, on the blunders, vulgarities, and indecencies of the English bard, concludes with this appeal to the critical body he was addressing. "Paint to yourselves, Gentlemen, Louis the Fourteenth in his gallery at Versailles, surrounded by his brilliant court: — a tatterdemalion advances, covered with rags, and proposes to the assembly to abandon the tragedies of Racine for a mountebank, full of grimaces, with nothing but a lucky hit, now and then, to redeem them."

At a later period, Ducis, the successor of Voltaire, if we remember right, in the Academy, a writer of far superior merit to Letourneur, did the British bard into much better French than his predecessor; though Ducis, as he takes care to acquaint us, "did his best to efface those startling impressions of horror, which would have damned his author in the polished theatres of Paris"! Voltaire need not have taken the affair so much at heart. Shakspeare, reduced within the compass, as much as possible, of the rules, with all his eccentricities and peculiarities, — all that made him English, in fact, — smoothed away, may be tolerated, and to a certain extent countenanced, in the "polished theatres of Paris." But this is not

> "Shakspeare, *Nature's* child,
> Warbling his native wood-notes wild."

The Germans present just the antipodes of their French neighbours. Coming late on the arena of modern literature, they would seem to be particularly qualified for excelling in criticism by the variety of styles and models for their study, supplied by other nations. They have accordingly done wonders in this department, and have extended their critical wand over the remotest regions, dispelling the mists of old prejudice, and throwing the light of learning on what before was dark and inexplicable. They certainly are entitled to the credit of a singularly cosmopolitan power of divesting themselves of local and national prejudice. No nation has done so much to lay the foundations of that reconciling spirit

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of criticism, which, instead of condemning a difference of taste in different nations as a departure from it, seeks to explain such discrepances by the peculiar circumstances of the nation, and thus from the elements of discord, as it were, to build up a universal and harmonious system. The exclusive and unfavorable views, entertained by some of their later critics, respecting the French literature, indeed, into which they have been urged, no doubt, by a desire to counteract the servile deference, shown to that literature by their countrymen of the preceding age, forms an important exception to their usual candor.

As general critics, however, the Germans are open to grave objections. The very circumstances of their situation, so favorable, as we have said, to the formation of a liberal criticism, have encouraged the taste for theories and for system-building, always unpropitious to truth. Whoever broaches a theory, has a hard battle to fight with conscience. If the theory cannot conform to the facts, so much the worse for the facts, as some wag has said; — they must, at all events, conform to the theory. The Germans have put together hypotheses with the facility with which children construct card-houses; and many of them bid fair to last as long. They show more industry in accumulating materials, than taste or discretion in their arrangement. They carry their fantastic imagination beyond the legitimate province of the Muse into the sober fields of criticism. Their philosophical systems, curiously and elaborately devised, with much ancient lore and solemn imaginings, may remind one of some of those venerable English cathedrals, where the magnificent and mysterious Gothic is blended with the clumsy Saxon. The effect, on the whole, is grand, but somewhat grotesque withal.

The Germans are too often sadly wanting in discretion; or, in vulgar parlance, taste. They are perpetually overleaping the modesty of nature. They are possessed by a cold-blooded enthusiasm, if we may so say, — since it seems to come rather from the head than the heart, — which spurs them on, over the plainest barriers of common sense, until even the right becomes the wrong. A striking example of these defects is furnished by the dramatic critic, Schlegel; whose "Lectures" are, or may be, familiar to every reader, since they have been reprinted, in the English version, in this

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country. No critic, not even a native, has thrown such a flood of light on the characteristics of the sweet bard of Avon. He has made himself so intimately acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the poet's age and country, that he has been enabled to speculate on his productions as those of a contemporary. In this way, he has furnished a key to the mysteries of his composition, has reduced what seemed anomalous to system, and has supplied Shakspeare's own countrymen with new arguments for vindicating the spontaneous suggestions of feeling on strictly philosophical principles. Not content with this important service, he, as usual, pushes his argument to extremes, vindicates notorious blemishes as necessary parts of a system, and calls on us to admire, in contradiction to the most ordinary principles of taste and common sense. Thus, for example, speaking of Shakspeare's notorious blunders in geography and chronology, he coolly tells us, "I undertake to prove, that Shakspeare's anachronisms are, for the most part, committed purposely, and after great consideration." In the same vein, speaking of the poet's villanous puns and quibbles, which, to his shame, or rather that of his age, so often bespangle, with tawdry brilliancy, the majestic robe of the Muse, he assures us, that "the poet here, probably, as everywhere else, has followed principles which will bear a strict examination." But the intrepidity of criticism never went further than in the conclusion of this same analysis, where he unhesitatingly assigns several apocryphal plays to Shakspeare, gravely informing us, that the three last, "Sir John Oldcastle," "A Yorkshire Tragedy," and "Thomas Lord Cromwell," of which the English critics speak with unreserved contempt, "are not only unquestionably Shakspeare's, but, in his judgment, rank among the best and ripest of his works"! The old bard, could he raise his head from the tomb, where none might disturb his bones, would exclaim, we imagine, "*Non tali auxilio!*"

It shows a tolerable degree of assurance in a critic, thus to dogmatize on nice questions of verbal resemblance, which have so long baffled the natives of the country, who, on such questions, obviously, can be the only competent judges. It furnishes a striking example of the want of discretion, of a regard to the τὸ πρέπον, noticeable in so many of the German scholars. With all these defects, however,

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it cannot be denied, that they have widely extended the limits of rational criticism, and, by their copious stores of erudition, furnished the student with facilities for attaining the best points of view for a comprehensive survey of both ancient and modern literature.

The English have had advantages, on the whole, greater than those of any other people, for perfecting the science of general criticism. They have had no Academies, to bind the wing of genius to the earth by their thousand wire-drawn subtleties. No Inquisition has placed its burning seal upon the lip, and thrown its dark shadow over the recesses of the soul. They have enjoyed the inestimable privilege of thinking what they pleased, and of uttering what they thought. Their minds, trained to independence, have had no occasion to shrink from encountering any topic, and have acquired a masculine confidence, indispensable to a calm appreciation of the mighty and widely diversified productions of genius, as unfolded under the influences of as widely diversified institutions and national character. Their own literature, with chameleon-like delicacy, has reflected all the various aspects of the nation, in the successive stages of its history. The rough, romantic beauties and gorgeous pageantry of the Elizabethan age, the stern, sublime enthusiasm of the Commonwealth, the cold brilliancy of Queen Anne, and the tumultuous movements and ardent sensibilities of the present generation, — all have been reflected, as in a mirror, in the current of English literature, as it has flowed down through the lapse of ages. It is easy to understand, what advantages this cultivation of all these different styles of composition at home must give the critic, in divesting himself of narrow and local prejudice, and in appreciating the genius of foreign literatures, in each of which some one or other of these different styles has found favor. To this must be added the advantages derived from the structure of the English language itself, which, compounded of the Teutonic and the Latin, offers facilities for a comprehension of other literatures, not afforded by those languages, as the German and the Italian, for instance, almost exclusively derived from but one of them.

With all this, the English, as we have remarked, have made fewer direct contributions to general literary criticism than the Continental nations; unless, indeed, we take into the account the periodical criticism, which has covered the

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whole field with a light skirmishing, very unlike any systematic plan of operations. The good effect of this *guerrilla* warfare may well be doubted. Most of these critics for the nonce (and we certainly are competent judges on this point) come to their work with little previous preparation. Their attention has been habitually called, for the most part, in other directions; and they throw off an accidental essay in the brief intervals of other occupation. Hence their views are necessarily often superficial, and sometimes contradictory, as may be seen from turning over the leaves of any journal, where literary topics are widely discussed; for, whatever consistency may be demanded in politics or religion, very free scope is offered, even in the same journal, to literary speculation. Even when the article may have been the fruit of a mind ripened by study and meditation on congenial topics, it too often exhibits only the partial view suggested by the particular and limited direction of the author's thoughts in this instance. Now, truth is not much served by this irregular process; and the general illumination, indispensable to a full and fair survey of the whole ground, can never be supplied from such scattered and capricious gleams, thrown over it at random.

Another obstacle to a right result, is founded in the very constitution of review-writing. Miscellaneous in its range of topics, and addressed to a miscellaneous class of readers, its chief reliance for success, in competition with the thousand novelties of the day, is in the temporary interest it can excite. Instead of a conscientious discussion and cautious examination of the matter in hand, we too often find an attempt to stimulate the popular appetite, by picquant sallies of wit, by caustic sarcasm, or by a pert, dashing confidence, that cuts the knot it cannot readily unloose. Then, again, the spirit of periodical criticism would seem to be little favorable to perfect impartiality. The critic, shrouded in his secret tribunal, too often demeans himself like a stern inquisitor, whose business is rather to convict than to examine. Criticism is directed to scent out blemishes, instead of beauties. "*Judex damnatur cùm nocens absolvitur*," is the bloody motto of a well-known British periodical, which, under this piratical flag, has sent a broadside into many a gallant bark, that deserved better at its hands.

When we combine with all this the spirit of patriotism,

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— or what passes for such with nine tenths of the world, the spirit of national vanity, — we shall find abundant motives for a deviation from a just, impartial estimate of foreign literatures. And if we turn over the pages of the best-conducted English journals, we shall probably find ample evidence of the various causes we have enumerated. We shall find, amidst abundance of shrewd and sarcastic observation, smart skirmish of wit, and clever antithesis, a very small infusion of sober, dispassionate criticism; the criticism founded on patient study and on strictly philosophical principles; the criticism on which one can safely rely as the criterion of good taste, and which, however tame it may appear to the jaded appetite of the literary lounger, is the only one that will attract the eye of posterity.

The work, named at the head of our article, will, we suspect, notwithstanding the author's brilliant reputation, never meet this same eye of posterity. Though purporting to be, in its main design, an Essay on English Literature, it is, in fact, a multifarious compound of as many ingredients as entered into the witches' caldron; to say nothing of a gallery of portraits of dead and living, among the latter of whom M. de Chateaubriand himself is not the least conspicuous. "I have treated of every thing," he says, truly enough, in his preface, "the Present, the Past, the Future." The parts are put together in the most grotesque and disorderly manner, with some striking coincidences, occasionally, of characters and situations, and some facts not familiar to every reader. The most unpleasant feature in the book, is the doleful lamentation of the author over the evil times on which he has fallen. He has, indeed, lived somewhat beyond his time, which was that of Charles the Tenth, of pious memory, — the good old time of apostolicals and absolutists, which will not be likely to revisit France again very soon. Indeed, our unfortunate author reminds one of some weather-beaten hulk, which the tide has left high and dry on the strand, and whose signals of distress are little heeded by the rest of the convoy, which have trimmed their sails more dexterously, and sweep merrily on before the breeze. The present work affords glimpses, occasionally, of the author's happier style, which has so often fascinated us in his earlier productions. On the whole, however, it will add little to his reputation; nor, probably, much subtract from it. When a man has

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sent forth a score of octavos into the world, and as good as some of M. de Chateaubriand's, he can bear up under a poor one now and then. This is not the first indifferent work laid at his door, and, as he promises to keep the field for some time longer, it will probably not be the last.

We pass over the first half of the first volume, to come to the Reformation; the point of departure, as it were, for modern civilization. Our author's views in relation to it, as we might anticipate, are not precisely those we should entertain.

"In a religious point of view," he says, "the Reformation is leading insensibly to indifference, or the complete absence of faith; the reason is, that the independence of the mind terminates in two gulfs, — doubt and incredulity.

"By a very natural reaction, the Reformation at its birth rekindled the dying flame of Catholic fanaticism. It may thus be regarded as the indirect cause of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the disturbances of the League, the assassination of Henry the Fourth, the murders in Ireland, and of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the *dragonnades*"! — Vol. I. p. 193.

As to the tendency of the Reformation towards doubt and incredulity, we know that free inquiry, continually presenting new views, as the sphere of observation is enlarged, may unsettle old principles without establishing any fixed ones in their place, or, in other words, lead to skepticism. But we doubt if this happens more frequently than under the opposite system, inculcated by the Romish church, which, by precluding examination, excludes the only ground of rational belief. At all events, skepticism, in the former case, is much more remediable than in the latter; since the subject of it, by pursuing his inquiries, will, it is to be hoped, as truth is mighty, arrive, at last, at a right result; while the Romanist, inhibited from such inquiry, has no remedy. The ingenious author of "Doblado's Letters from Spain" has painted in the most affecting colors the state of such a mind, which, declining to take its creed at the bidding of another, is lost in a labyrinth of doubt, without a clue to guide it. As to charging on the Reformation the various enormities with which the above extract concludes, the idea is certainly new. It is, in fact, making the Protestants guilty of their own persecution, and Henry the Fourth of

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his own assassination; quite an original view of the subject, which, as far as we know, has hitherto escaped the attention of historians.

A few pages further, and we pick up the following information respecting the state of Catholicism in our own country.

"Maryland, a Catholic and very populous State, made common cause with the others, and *now most of the Western States are Catholic*. The progress of this communion in the United States of America exceeds belief. There it has been invigorated in its evangelical aliment, popular liberty, *whilst other communions decline in profound indifference*." — Vol. I. p. 201.

We were not aware of this state of things. We did, indeed, know, that the Roman church had increased much, of late years, especially in the valley of the Mississippi. But so have other communions, as the Methodist and the Baptist, for example, the latter of which comprehends five times as many disciples as the Roman Catholic. As to the population of the latter in the West, the whole number of Catholics in the Union does not amount, probably, to three fourths of the number of inhabitants in the single western State of Ohio. The truth is, that in a country, where there is no established or favored sect, and where the clergy depend on voluntary contribution for their support, there must be constant efforts at proselytism, and a mutation of religious opinion, according to the convictions, or fancied convictions, of the converts. What one denomination gains, another loses, till roused, in its turn, by its rival, new efforts are made to retrieve its position, and the equilibrium is restored. In the mean time, the population of the whole country goes forward with giant strides, and each sect boasts, and boasts with truth, of the hourly augmentation of its numbers. Those of the Roman Catholics are swelled, moreover, by a considerable addition from emigration, many of the poor foreigners, especially the Irish, being of that persuasion. But this is no ground of triumph, as it infers no increase to the sum of Catholicism; since what is thus gained in the New World is lost in the Old.

Our author pronounces the Reformation hostile to the arts, poetry, eloquence, elegant literature, and even the spirit of military heroism. But hear his own words.

"The Reformation, imbued with the spirit of its founder,

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declared itself hostile to the arts. It sacked tombs, churches, and monuments, and made in France and England heaps of ruins." . . . . .

"The beautiful in literature will be found to exist in a greater or less degree, in proportion as writers have approximated to the genius of the Roman church." . . . . .

"If the Reformation restricted genius in poetry, eloquence, and the arts, it also checked heroism in war, for heroism is imagination in the military order." — Vol. I. pp. 194 – 207.

This is a sweeping denunciation; and, as far as the arts of design are intended, may probably be defended. The Romish worship, its stately ritual and gorgeous ceremonies, the throng of numbers assisting, in one form or another, at the service, all required spacious and magnificent edifices, with the rich accessories of sculpture and painting, and music also, to give full effect to the spectacle. Never was there a religion which addressed itself more directly to the senses. And, fortunately for it, the immense power and revenues of its ministers enabled them to meet its exorbitant demands. On such a splendid theatre, and under such patronage, the arts were called into life in modern Europe, and most of all in that spot, which represented the capital of Christendom. It was there, amid the pomp and luxury of religion, that those beautiful structures rose, with those exquisite creations of the chisel and the pencil, which embodied in themselves all the elements of ideal beauty.

But, independently of these external circumstances, the spirit of Catholicism was eminently favorable to the artist. Shut out from free inquiry, — from the Scriptures themselves, — and compelled to receive the dogmas of his teachers upon trust, the road to conviction lay less through the understanding, than the heart. The heart was to be moved, the affections and sympathies to be stirred, as well as the senses to be dazzled. This was the machinery, by which only could an effectual devotion to the faith be maintained in an ignorant people. It was not, therefore, Christ as a teacher, delivering lessons of practical wisdom and morality, that was brought before the eye, but Christ filling the offices of human sympathy, ministering to the poor and sorrowing, giving eyes to the blind, health to the sick, and life to the dead. It was Christ suffering under persecution, crowned with thorns, lacerated with stripes, dying on the cross.

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These sorrows and sufferings were understood by the dullest soul, and told more than a thousand homilies. So with the Virgin. It was not that sainted mother of the Saviour, whom Protestants venerate, but do not worship; it was the Mother of God, and entitled, like him, to adoration. It was a woman, and as such the object of those romantic feelings, which would profane the service of the Deity, but which are not the less touching, as being in accordance with human sympathies. The respect for the Virgin, indeed, partook of that which a Catholic might feel for his tutelar saint and his mistress combined. Orders of chivalry were dedicated to her service; and her shrine was piled with more offerings, and frequented by more pilgrimages, than the altars of the Deity himself. Thus, feelings of love, adoration, and romantic honor, strangely blended, threw a halo of poetic glory, if we may so say, around their object, making it the most exalted theme for the study of the artist. What wonder, that this subject should have called forth the noblest inspirations of his genius? What wonder, that an artist, like Raphael, should have found, in the simple portraiture of a woman and a child, the materials for immortality?

It was something like a kindred state of feeling, which called into being the arts of ancient Greece, when her mythology was comparatively fresh, and faith was easy; when the legends of the past, familiar as Scripture story at a later day, gave a real existence to the beings of fancy, and the artist, embodying these in forms of visible beauty, but finished the work which the poet had begun.

The Reformation brought other trains of ideas, and with them other influences on the arts, than those of Catholicism. Indeed, its first movements were decidedly hostile, since the works of art, with which the temples were adorned, being associated with the religion itself, became odious as the symbols of idolatry. But the spirit of the Reformation gave thought a new direction, even in the cultivation of art. It was no longer sought to appeal to the senses by brilliant display, or to waken the sensibilities by those superficial emotions, which find relief in tears. A sterner, deeper feeling was roused. The mind was turned within, as it were, to ponder on the import of existence and its future destinies. For the chains were withdrawn from the soul, and it was permitted to wander at large in the regions of speculation.

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Reason took the place of sentiment, — the useful of the merely ornamental. Facts were substituted for forms, even the ideal forms of beauty. There were to be no more Michael-Angelos and Raphaels, no glorious Gothic temples, which consumed generations in their building. The sublime and the beautiful were not the first objects proposed by the artist. He sought truth, — fidelity to nature. He studied the characters of his species, as well as the forms of imaginary perfection. He portrayed life, as developed in its thousand peculiarities before his own eyes; and the ideal gave way to the natural. In this way, new schools of painting, like that of Hogarth, for example, arose, which, however inferior in those great properties for which we must admire the master-pieces of Italian art, had a significance and philosophic depth, which furnished quite as much matter for study and meditation.

A similar tendency was observable in poetry, eloquence, and works of elegant literature. The influence of the Reformation here, indeed, was undoubtedly favorable, whatever it may have been on the arts. How could it be otherwise on literature, the written expression of thought, in which no grace of visible forms and proportions, no skill of mechanical execution, can cheat the eye with the vain semblance of genius? But it was not until the warm breath of the Reformation had dissolved the icy fetters which had so long held the spirit of man in bondage, that the genial current of the soul was permitted to flow; that the gates of reason were unbarred, and the mind was permitted to taste of the tree of knowledge, forbidden tree no longer. Where was the scope for eloquence, when thought was stifled in the very sanctuary of the heart? For out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh.

There might, indeed, be an elaborate attention to the outward forms of expression; an exquisite finish of verbal arrangement, the dress and garniture of thought. And, in fact, the Catholic nations have surpassed the Protestant in attention to verbal elegance and the soft music of numbers, to nice rhetorical artifice and brilliancy of composition. The poetry of Italy, and the prose of France, bear ample evidence how much time and talent have been expended on this beauty of outward form, the rich vehicle of thought. But where shall we find the powerful reasoning, various knowledge, and

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fearless energy of diction, which stamp the oratory of Protestant England and America? In France, indeed, where prose has received a higher polish and classic elegance than in any other country, pulpit eloquence has reached an uncommon degree of beauty. For, though much was excluded, the avenues to the heart, as with the painter and the sculptor, were still left open to the orator. If there has been a deficiency, in this respect, in the English church, which all will not admit, it is probably that the mind, unrestricted, has been occupied with reasoning, rather than rhetoric, and sought to clear away old prejudices and establish new truths, instead of wakening a transient sensibility, or dazzling the imagination with poetic flights of eloquence. That it is the fault of the preacher, at all events, and not of Protestanism, is shown by a striking example under our own eyes, that of our distinguished countryman, Dr. Channing, whose style is irradiated with all the splendors of a glowing imagination, showing, as powerfully as any other example, probably, in English prose, of what melody and compass the language is capable, under the touch of genius instinct with genuine enthusiasm. Not that we would recommend this style, grand and beautiful as it is, for imitation. We think we have seen the ill effects of this already, in more than one instance. In fact, no style should be held up as a model for imitation. Dr. Johnson tells us, in one of those oracular passages somewhat threadbare now, that "whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison." With all deference to the Doctor, who, by the formal cut of his own sentence just quoted, shows, that he did not care to follow his own prescription, we think otherwise. Whoever would write a good English style, we should say, should acquaint himself with the mysteries of the language, as revealed in the writings of the best masters, but should form his own style on nobody but himself. Every man, at least every man with a spark of originality in his composition, has his own peculiar way of thinking; and, to give it effect, it must find its way out in its own peculiar language. Indeed, it is impossible to separate language from thought, in that delicate blending of both which is called style. At least, it is impossible to produce the same effect with the original, by any copy, however literal. We may, indeed, imitate the struc-

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ture of a sentence, but the ideas, which gave it its peculiar propriety, we cannot imitate. The forms of expression, that suit one man's train of thinking, no more suit another's, than one man's clothes will suit another. They will be sure to be either too big or too small, or, at all events, not to make what gentlemen of the needle call *a good fit.* If the party chances, as is generally the case, to be rather under-size, and the model is over-size, this will only expose his own littleness the more. There is no case more in point than that afforded by Dr. Johnson himself. His brilliant style has been the ambition of every school-boy, and of some children of larger growth, since the days of the Rambler. But the nearer they come to it, the worse. The beautiful is turned into the fantastic, and the sublime into the ridiculous. The most curious example of this, within our recollection, is the case of Dr. Symmons, the English editor of Milton's prose writings, and the biographer of the poet. The little Doctor has maintained, throughout his ponderous volume, a most exact imitation of the great Doctor, his sesquipedalian words, and florid rotundity of period. With all this cumbrous load of brave finery on his back, swelled to twice his original dimensions, he looks, for all the world, as he is, like a mere bag of wind, — a scarecrow, to admonish others of the folly of similar depredations.

But to return. The influence of the Reformation on elegant literature was never more visible than in the first great English school of poets, which came soon after it, at the close of the sixteenth century. The writers of that period, one and all, displayed a courage, originality, and truth, highly characteristic of the new revolution, which had been introduced by breaking down the old landmarks of opinion, and giving unbounded range to speculation and inquiry. The first great poet, Spenser, adopted the same vehicle of imagination with the Italian bards of chivalry, the romantic epic ; but instead of making it, like them, a mere revel of fancy, with no further object than to delight the reader by brilliant combinations, he moralized his song, and gave it a deeper and more solemn import by the mysteries of Allegory, which, however prejudicial to its effect as a work of art, showed a mind too intent on serious thoughts and inquiries itself, to be content with the dazzling but impotent coruscations of genius, that serve no other end than that of amusement.

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In the same manner, Shakspeare and the other dramatic writers of the time, instead of adopting the formal rules recognised afterwards by the French writers, their long rhetorical flourishes, their exaggerated models of character, and ideal forms, went freely and fearlessly into all the varieties of human nature, the secret depths of the soul, touching on all the diversified interests of humanity, — for he might touch on all without fear of persecution, — and thus making his productions a store-house of philosophy, of lessons of practical wisdom, deep, yet so clear, that he who runs may read.

But the spirit of the Reformation did not descend in all its fulness on the Muse, till the appearance of Milton. That great poet was, in heart, as thoroughly a reformer, and, in doctrine, much more thoroughly so, than Luther himself. Indignant at every effort to crush the spirit, and to cheat it, in his own words, "of that liberty, which rarefies and enlightens it like the influence of heaven," he proclaimed the rights of man as a rational, immortal being, undismayed by menace and obloquy, amidst a generation of servile and unprincipled sycophants. The blindness, which excluded him from the things of earth, opened to him more glorious and spiritualized conceptions of heaven; and aided him in exhibiting the full influence of those sublime truths, which the privilege of free inquiry in religious matters had poured upon the mind. His Muse was as eminently the child of Protestanism, as that of Dante, who resembled him in so many traits of character, was of Catholicism. The latter poet, coming first among the moderns, after the fountains of the great deep, which had so long overwhelmed the world, were broken up, displayed, in his wonderful composition, all the elements of modern institutions, as distinguished from those of antiquity. He first showed the full and peculiar influence of Christianity on literature. But it was Christianity under the form of Catholicism. His subject, spiritual in its design, like Milton's, was sustained by all the auxiliaries of a visible and material existence. His passage through the infernal abyss is a series of tragic pictures of human woe, suggesting greater refinements of cruelty than were ever imagined by a heathen poet. Amid all the various forms of mortal anguish, we look in vain for the mind as a means of torture; at least, we recall but one solitary exception to this remark. In like manner, in ascending the scale of celestial being, we

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pass through a succession of brilliant *fêtes*, made up of light, music, and motion, increasing in splendor and velocity, till all are lost and confounded in the glories of the Deity. Even the pencil of the great master, dipped in these gorgeous tints of fancy, does not shrink from the attempt to portray the outlines of Deity itself. In this he aspired to what many of his countrymen in the sister arts of design have since attempted, and, like him, have failed. For who can hope to give form to the Infinite? In the same false style, Dante personifies the spirits of evil; and Satan himself is drawn in all the bugbear monstrosities of a superstitious fancy, or, more properly, age. For much was, doubtless, owing to the age, though much, also, must be referred to the genius of Catholicism, which, appealing to the senses, has a tendency to materialize the spiritual, as Protestantism, with deeper reflection, aims to spiritualize the material. Thus Milton, in treading similar ground, borrows his illustrations from intellectual sources; conveys the image of the Almighty by his attributes; and, in the frequent portraiture which he introduces of Satan, suggests only vague conceptions of form, the faint outlines of matter, as it were, stretching vast over many a rood, but towering sublime by the unconquerable energy of his will, — the fit representative of the principle of evil. Indeed, Milton has scarcely any thing of what may be called scenic decorations, to produce a certain stage effect. His actors are few, and his action nothing. It is only by their intellectual and moral relations, by giving full scope to the

> "Cherub Contemplation,
> He that soars on golden wing,
> Guiding the fiery-wheeled throne,"

that he has prepared for us visions of celestial beauty and grandeur, which never fade from our souls.

In the dialogue with which the two poets have seasoned their poems, we see the action of the opposite influences we have described. Both give vent to metaphysical disquisition, of learned sound, and much greater length than the reader would desire. But in Milton it is the free discussion of a mind trained to wrestle boldly on abstrusest points of metaphysical theology; while Dante follows in the same old, barren footsteps which had been trodden by the schoolmen. Both writers were singularly bold and independent. Dante asserted that liberty which should belong to the citizen of

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every free state; that civil liberty which had been sacrificed, in his own country, by the spirit of faction. But Milton claimed a higher freedom; a freedom of thinking and of giving utterance to thought, uncontrolled by human authority. He had fallen, indeed, on evil times. But he had a generous confidence, that his voice would reach to posterity, and would be a guide and a light to the coming generations. And truly has it proved so; for in his writings we find the germs of many of the boasted discoveries of our own day in government and education; so that he may be fairly considered as the morning star of that higher civilization, which distinguishes our happier era.

Milton's poetical writings do not seem, however, to have been held in that neglect by his contemporaries, which is commonly supposed. He had attracted too much attention as a political controversialist, was too much feared for his talents, as well as hated for his principles, to allow any thing which fell from his pen to pass unnoticed. He lived to see a second edition of "Paradise Lost," and this was more than was to have been fairly anticipated of a composition of this nature, however well executed, falling on such times. Indeed, its sale was no evidence that its merits were comprehended, and may be referred to the general reputation of its author. For we find so accomplished a critic as Sir William Temple, some years later, omitting the name of Milton in his roll of writers who have done honor to modern literature; a circumstance which may, perhaps, be imputed to that reverence for the ancients, which blinded Sir William to the merits of their successors. How could Milton be understood in his own generation, — in the grovelling, sensual court of Charles the Second? How could the dull eyes, so long fastened on the earth, endure the blaze of his inspired genius? It was not till time had removed him to a distance, that he could be calmly gazed on, and his merits fairly contemplated. Indeed, Addison, as is well known, was the first to bring them into popular view, by a beautiful specimen of criticism, that has permanently connected his name with that of his illustrious subject. More than half a century later, another great name in English criticism, perhaps the greatest in general reputation, Johnson, passed sentence of a very different kind on the pretensions of the poet. A production more discreditable to the author is not to be found in the whole of his voluminous

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works ; equally discreditable, whether regarded in an historical light, or as a sample of literary criticism. What shall we say of the biographer, who, in allusion to that affecting passage, where the blind old bard talks of himself as "in darkness, and with dangers compast round," can coolly remark, that "this darkness, had his eyes been better employed, might undoubtedly have deserved compassion" ? Or what of the critic, who can say of the most exquisite effusion of Doric minstrelsy that our language boasts, "Surely, no man could have fancied, that he read 'Lycidas' with pleasure, had he not known the author" ; and of "Paradise Lost" itself, that "its perusal is a duty rather than a pleasure" ? Could a more exact measure be afforded than by this single line, of the poetic sensibility of the critic, and his unsuitableness for the office he had here assumed ? His "Life of Milton" is a humiliating testimony of the power of political and religious prejudices to warp a great and good mind from the standard of truth, in his estimation, not merely of contemporary excellence, but of the great of other years, over whose frailties Time might be supposed to have drawn his friendly mantle.

Another half century has elapsed, and ample justice has been rendered to the fame of the poet, by two elaborate criticisms, the one in the Edinburgh Review, from the pen of Mr. Macauley ; the other by Dr. Channing, in the "Christian Examiner," since republished in his own works ; remarkable performances, each in the manner highly characteristic of its author, and which have contributed, doubtless, to draw attention to the prose compositions of their subject, as the criticism of Addison did to his poetry. There is something gratifying in the circumstance, that this great advocate of intellectual liberty should have found his most able and eloquent expositor among us, whose position qualifies us, in a peculiar manner, for profiting by the rich legacy of his genius. It was but discharging a debt of gratitude.

Chateaubriand has much to say about Milton, for whose writings, both prose and poetry, notwithstanding the difference of their sentiments on almost all points of politics and religion, he appears to entertain the most sincere reverence. His criticisms are liberal and just. They show a thorough study of his author ; but neither the historical facts nor the reflections will suggest much that is new, on a subject now become trite to the English reader.

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We may pass over a good deal of skimble-skamble stuff about men and things, which our author may have cut out of his commonplace-book, to come to his remarks on Sir Walter Scott, whom he does not rate so highly as most critics.

"The illustrious painter of Scotland," he says, "seems to me to have created a false class; he has, in my opinion, confounded history and romance; the novelist has set about writing historical romances, and the historian romantic histories."—Vol. II. p. 306.

We should have said, on the contrary, that he had improved the character of both; that he had given new value to romance, by building it on history, and new charms to history, by embellishing it with the graces of romance.

To be more explicit. The principal historical work of Scott is the "Life of Napoleon." It has doubtless many of the faults incident to a dashing style of composition, which precluded the possibility of compression and arrangement in the best form of which the subject was capable. This, in the end, may be fatal to the perpetuity of the work; for posterity will be much less patient than our own age. He will have a much heavier load to carry, inasmuch as he is to bear up under all of his own time, and ours too. It is very certain, then, some must go by the board; and nine sturdy volumes, which is the amount of Sir Walter's English edition, will be somewhat alarming. Had he confined himself to half the quantity, there would have been no ground for distrust. Every day, nay hour, we see, ay, and feel, the ill effects of this rapid style of composition, so usual with the best writers of our day. The immediate profits which such writers are pretty sure to get, notwithstanding the example of M. Chateaubriand, operate like the dressing improvidently laid on a naturally good soil, forcing out noxious weeds in such luxuriance, as to check, if not absolutely to kill, the more healthful vegetation. Quantities of trivial detail find their way into the page, mixed up with graver matters. Instead of that skilful preparation, by which all the avenues can verge at last to one point, so as to leave a distinct impression, an impression of unity, on the reader, he is hurried along zig-zag, in a thousand directions, or round and round, but never, in the cant of the times, "going ahead" an inch. He leaves off pretty much where he set out, except that his memory may be tolerably

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well stuffed with facts, which, from want of some principle of cohesion, will soon drop out of it. He will find himself like a traveller, who has been riding through a fine country, it may be, by moonlight, getting glimpses of every thing, but no complete, well-illuminated view of the whole ("*quale per incertam lunam*" &c.); or rather, like the same traveller, whizzing along in a locomotive so rapidly, as to get even a glimpse fairly of nothing, instead of making his tour in such a manner as would enable him to pause at what was worth his attention, to pass by night over the barren and uninteresting, and occasionally to rise to such elevations as would afford the best points of view for commanding the various prospect.

The romance-writer labors under no such embarrassments. He may, indeed, precipitate his work, so that it may lack proportion, and the nice arrangement required by the rules, which, fifty years ago, would have condemned it as a work of art. But the criticism of the present day is not so squeamish, or, to say truth, pedantic. It is enough for the writer of fiction, if he give pleasure; and this, everybody knows, is not effected by the strict observance of artificial rules. It is of little consequence how the plot is snarled up, or whether it be untied or cut, in order to extricate the *dramatis personæ*. At least, it is of little consequence, compared with the true delineation of character. The story is serviceable only as it affords a means for the display of this; and if the novelist but keeps up the interest of his story and the truth of his characters, we easily forgive any dislocations which his light vehicle may encounter from too heedless motion. Indeed, rapidity of motion may in some sort favor him, keeping up the glow of his invention, and striking out, as he dashes along, sparks of wit and fancy, that give a brilliant illumination to his track. But in history there must be another kind of process; a process at once slow and laborious. Old parchments are to be ransacked, charters and musty records to be deciphered, and stupid, worm-eaten chroniclers, who had much more of passion, frequently, to blind, than good sense to guide them, must be sifted and compared. In short, a sort of Medea-like process is to be gone through, and many an old bone is to be boiled over in the caldron, before it can come out again clothed in the elements of beauty. The dreams of the novelist, — the poet of prose,

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— on the other hand, are beyond the reach of art; and the magician calls up the most brilliant forms of fancy by a single stroke of his wand.

Scott, in his History, was relieved, in some degree, from this necessity of studious research, by borrowing his theme from contemporary events. It was his duty, indeed, to examine evidence carefully, and sift out contradictions and errors. This demanded shrewdness and caution, but not much previous preparation and study. It demanded, above all, candor; for it was his business, not to make out a case for a client, but to weigh both sides, like an impartial judge, before summing up the evidence, and delivering his conscientious opinion. We believe there is no good ground for charging Scott with having swerved from this part of his duty. Those, indeed, who expected to see him deify his hero, and raise altars to his memory, were disappointed; and so were those also, who demanded, that the tail and cloven hoof should be made to peep out beneath the imperial robe. But this proves his impartiality. It would be unfair, however, to require the degree of impartiality which is to be expected from one removed to a distance from the theatre of strife, from those national interests and feelings, which are so often the disturbing causes of historic fairness. An American, no doubt, would have been, in this respect, in a more favorable point of view for contemplating the European drama. The ocean, stretched between us and the Old World, has the effect of time, and extinguishes, or, at least, cools, the hot and angry feelings, which find their way into every man's bosom within the atmosphere of the contest. Scott was a Briton, with all the peculiarities of one, — at least, of a North Briton; and the future historian, who gathers materials from his labors, will throw these national predilections into the scale in determining the probable accuracy of his statements. These are not greater, however, than might occur to any man, and allowance will always be made for them, on the ground of a general presumption; so that a greater degree of impartiality, indeed, by leading to false conclusions in this respect, would scarcely have served the cause of truth better with posterity. An individual, who felt his reputation compromised, may have made fight, indeed, on this or that charge of inaccuracy. But no such charge has come from any of the leading journals in the country, which, however, would

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not have been slow to expose it, and which would not, considering the great popularity, and, consequently, influence of the work, have omitted, as they did, to notice it at all, had it afforded any obvious ground of exception on this score. Where, then, is the romance, which our author accuses Sir Walter of blending with history ?

He did, indeed, possess the power of giving a sort of dramatic interest to every thing he handled, whether true or fictitious, by his faithful portraiture of character, and his lively delineations of events. We shall look in vain, among the multitudinous records of the French Revolution, for a more exact, as well as comprehensive, view of its strange, checkered transactions and complicated causes. What a contrast does it present to that harlequin compound, which passes under the name of History, by Carlyle ; in which the author flounders on, amid a sort of "crude consistence," half prose, half poetry, like Milton's Devil, working his way through Chaos,

> "A boggy Syrtis, neither sea
> Nor good dry land."

Scott had too masculine a spirit to condescend to such affectations ; and too sound a taste, to attempt to produce effect by overcoloring what Nature may be said to have colored too highly before. He knew that a simple statement of the extraordinary events of the time, was all that was demanded for effect.

Scott was, in truth, master of the picturesque. He understood, better than any historian since the time of Livy, how to dispose his lights and shades so as to produce the most striking result. This property of romance he had a right to borrow. This talent is particularly observable in the animated parts of his story, — in his battles, for example. No man ever painted those terrible scenes with greater effect. He had a natural relish for gunpowder ; and his mettle roused, like that of the war-horse, at the sound of the trumpet. His acquaintance with military science enabled him to employ a technical phraseology, just technical enough to give a knowing air to his descriptions, without embarrassing the reader by a pedantic display of unintelligible jargon. This is a talent rare in a civilian. Nothing can be finer than many of his battle-pieces in his "Life of Bonaparte," unless, indeed, we except one or two in his "History of Scotland" ; as

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the fight of Bannockburn, for example, in which Burns's "Scots, wha hae" seems to breathe in every line.

It is when treading on Scottish ground, that he seems to feel all his strength. "I seem always to step more firmly," he said to some one, "when on my own native heather." His mind was steeped in Scottish lore, and his bosom warmed with a sympathetic glow for the age of chivalry. Accordingly his delineations of this period, whether in history or romance, are unrivalled; as superior in effect to those of most compilers, as the richly-stained glass of the feudal ages is superior in beauty and brilliancy of tints to a modern imitation. If this be borrowing something from romance, it is, we repeat, no more than what is lawful for the historian, and explains the meaning of our assertion, that he has improved history by the embellishments of fiction.

Yet, after all, how wide the difference between the province of history and of romance, under Scott's own hands, may be shown by comparing his account of Mary's reign in his "History of Scotland," with the same period in the novel of "The Abbot." The historian must keep the beaten track of events. The novelist launches into the illimitable regions of fiction, provided only that his historic portraits be true to their originals. By due attention to this, fiction is made to minister to history, and may, in point of fact, contain as much real truth, — truth of character, though not of situation. "The difference between the historian and me," says Fielding, "is, that with him every thing is false but the names and dates; while with me nothing is false but these." There is at least as much truth in this as in most witticisms.

It is the great glory of Scott, that, by nice attention to costume and character in his novels, he has raised them to historic importance, without impairing their interest as works of art. Who now would imagine, that he could form any thing like a satisfactory notion of the golden days of Queen Bess, that had not read "Kenilworth"? or of Richard Cœur-de-Lion and his brave paladins, that had not read "Ivanhoe"? Why, then, it has been said, not at once incorporate into regular history all these traits, which give such historical value to the novel? Because, in this way, the strict truth, which history requires, would be violated. This cannot be. The fact is, History and Romance are too near

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akin, ever to be lawfully united. By mingling them together, a confusion is produced, like the mingling of day and night, mystifying and distorting every feature of the landscape. It is enough for the novelist, if he be true to the spirit; the historian must be true, also, to the letter. He cannot coin pertinent remarks and anecdotes to illustrate the characters of his drama. He cannot even provide them with suitable costumes. He must take just what Father Time has given him, just what he finds in the records of the age, setting down neither more nor less. Now, the dull chroniclers of the old time rarely thought of putting down the smart sayings of the great people they biographize; still less of entering into minute circumstances of personal interest. These were too familiar to contemporaries to require it; and, therefore, they waste their breath on more solemn matters of state, all-important in their generation, but not worth a rush in the present. What would the historian not give, could he borrow those fine touches of nature, with which the novelist illustrates the characters of his actors, — natural touches, indeed, but in truth just as artificial as any other part, — all coined in the imagination of the writer. There is the same difference between his trade and that of the novelist, that there is between the historical and the portrait painter. The former necessarily takes some great subject, with great personages, all strutting about in gorgeous state attire, and air of solemn tragedy; while his brother artist insinuates himself into the family groups, and picks out natural, familiar scenes and faces, laughing or weeping, but in the charming undress of nature. What wonder that novel-reading should be so much more amusing than history?

But we have already trespassed too freely on the patience of our readers, who will think the rambling spirit of our author contagious. Before dismissing him, however, we will give a taste of his quality, by one or two extracts, not very germane to English literature, but about as much so as a great part of the work. The first is a poetical sally on Bonaparte's burial-place, quite in Monsieur Chateaubriand's peculiar vein.

"The solitude of Napoleon, in his exile and his tomb, has thrown another kind of spell over a brilliant memory. Alexander did not die in sight of Greece; he disappeared amid the pomp of distant Babylon. Bonaparte did not close his eyes in the presence of France; he passed away in the gorgeous hori-

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zon of the torrid zone. The man, who had shown himself in such powerful reality, vanished like a dream ; his life, which belonged to history, coöperated in the poetry of his death. He now sleeps for ever, like a hermit or a paria, beneath a willow, in a narrow valley, surrounded by steep rocks, at the extremity of a lonely path. The depth of the silence, which presses upon him, can only be compared to the vastness of that tumult which had surrounded him. Nations are absent ; their throng has retired. The bird of the tropics, harnessed to the car of the sun, as Buffon magnificently expresses it, speeding his flight downwards from the planet of light, rests alone, for a moment, over the ashes, the weight of which has shaken the equilibrium of the globe.

"Bonaparte crossed the ocean, to repair to his final exile, regardless of that beautiful sky which delighted Columbus, Vasco de Gama, and Camoëns. Stretched upon the ship's stern, he perceived not that unknown constellations were sparkling over his head. His powerful glance, for the first time, encountered their rays. What to him were stars which he had never seen from his bivouacs, and which had never shone over his empire ? Nevertheless, not one of them has failed to fulfil its destiny ; one half of the firmament spread its light over his cradle ; the other half was reserved to illuminate his tomb."—Vol. II. pp. 185, 186.

The next extract relates to the British statesman, William Pitt.

"Pitt, tall and slender, had an air at once melancholy and sarcastic. His delivery was cold, his intonation monotonous, his action scarcely perceptible ; at the same time the lucidness and the fluency of his thoughts, the logic of his arguments, suddenly irradiated with flashes of eloquence, rendered his talent something above the ordinary line.

"I frequently saw Pitt walking across St. James's Park, from his own house to the palace. On his part, George the Third arrived from Windsor, after drinking beer out of a pewter pot with the farmers of the neighbourhood ; he drove through the mean courts of his mean habitation in a grey chariot, followed by a few of the horse-guards. This was the master of the kings of Europe, as five or six merchants of the city are the masters of India. Pitt, dressed in black, with a steel-hilted sword by his side, and his hat under his arm, ascended, taking two or three steps at a time. In his passage he only met with three or four emigrants who had nothing to do ; casting on us a disdainful look, he turned up his nose and his pale face, and passed on.

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"At home, this great financier kept no sort of order; he had no regular hours for his meals, or for sleep. Over head and ears in debt, he paid nobody, and never could take the trouble to cast up a bill. A *valet-de-chambre* managed his house. Ill dressed, without pleasure, without passion, greedy of power, he despised honors, and would not be any thing more than William Pitt.

"In the month of June, 1822, Lord Liverpool took me to dine at his country-house. As we crossed Putney-Heath, he showed me the small house, where the son of Lord Chatham, the statesman who had had Europe in his pay, and distributed with his own hand all the treasures of the world, died in poverty." — Vol. II. pp. 277, 278.

The following extracts show the changes that have taken place in English manners and society, and may afford the "whiskered pandour" of our own day an opportunity of contrasting his style of dandyism with that of the preceding generation.

"Separated from the continent by a long war, the English retained their manners and their national character till the end of the last century. All was not yet machine in the working classes, — folly in the upper classes. On the same pavements, where you now meet squalid figures, and men in frock coats, you were passed by young girls with white tippets, straw hats tied under the chin with a riband, with a basket on the arm, in which was fruit or a book; all kept their eyes cast down, all blushed when one looked at them. Frock coats, without any other, were so unusual in London, in 1793, that a woman, deploring with tears the death of Louis the Sixteenth, said to me, 'But, my dear Sir, is it true, that the poor king was dressed in a frock coat when they cut off his head?'

"The gentlemen-farmers had not yet sold their patrimony to take up their residence in London; they still formed, in the House of Commons, that independent fraction, which, transferring their support from the opposition to the ministerial side, upheld the ideas of order and propriety. They hunted the fox and shot pheasants in autumn, ate fat goose at Michaelmas, greeted the sirloin with shouts of 'Roast beef for ever!' complained of the present, extolled the past, cursed Pitt and the war, which doubled the price of port wine, and went to bed drunk, to begin the same life again on the following day. They felt quite sure, that the glory of Great Britain would not perish, so long as 'God save the king' was sung, the rotten boroughs maintained, the game-laws enforced, and hares and partridges could be sold by stealth, at market, under the names of lions and ostriches." — Vol. II. pp. 279, 280.

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"In 1822, at the time of my embassy to London, the fashionable was expected to exhibit, at the first glance, an unhappy and unhealthy man; to have an air of negligence about his person, long nails, a beard neither entire nor shaven, but as if grown for a moment unawares, and forgotten during the preoccupations of wretchedness; hair in disorder; a sublime, mild, wicked eye; lips compressed in disdain of human nature; a Byronian heart, overwhelmed with weariness and disgust of life.

"The dandy of the present day must have a conquering, frivolous, insolent look. He must pay particular attention to his toilet, wear mustaches, or a beard trimmed into a circle, like Queen Elizabeth's ruff, or like the radiant disk of the sun. He shows the proud independence of his character by keeping his hat upon his head, by lolling upon sofas, by thrusting his boots into the faces of the ladies, seated in admiration upon chairs before him. He rides with a cane, which he carries like a taper, regardless of the horse, which he bestrides, as it were, by accident. His health must be perfect, and he must always have five or six felicities upon his hands. Some radical dandies, who have advanced the furthest towards the future, have a pipe. But, no doubt, all this has changed, even during the time that I have taken to describe it."—Vol. II. pp. 303, 304.

The avowed purpose of the present work, singular as it may seem from the above extracts, is, to serve as an introduction to a meditated translation of Milton into French, since wholly, or in part, completed by M. Chateaubriand, who thinks, truly enough, that Milton's "political ideas make him a man of our own epoch." When an exile in England, in his early life, during the troubles of the Revolution, our author picked up a subsistence by translating some of Milton's verses; and he now proposes to render the bard and himself the same kind office by a version on a more extended scale. Thus, he concludes; "I again seat myself at the table of my poet. He will have nourished me in my youth, and my old age. It is nobler and safer to have recourse to glory than to power." Our author's situation is an indifferent commentary on the value of literary fame,—at least, on its pecuniary value. No man has had more of it in his day. No man has been more alert to make the most of it, by frequent, reiterated appearance before the public,—whether in full dress or dishabille,—yet always before them; and now, in the decline of life, we find him obtaining a

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scanty support by "French translation and Italian song." We heartily hope, that the bard of "Paradise Lost" will do better for his translator than he did for himself, and that M. de Chateaubriand will put more than five pounds in his pocket by his literary labor.

ART. III. — *The Poems of* RICHARD MONCKTON MILNES, Author of "Memorials of a Tour in Greece." In Two Volumes. London: Edward Moxon. 1838. 8vo. pp. xvi. 208 and xii. 166.

THE external appearance of these volumes is attractive beyond the usual splendor of the London press, and indicates their connexion with the delicacies of English high life. The author everywhere makes known, in prefaces, dedications, and verses, his aristocratic standing; and, as might be expected, his works receive not a little of their character and coloring from this circumstance. Many of the pieces are connected with his own personal history, or that of his family and friends; many are suggested by scenes in his own and foreign lands; and some have that ambiguous air of half-real, half-fictitious, which renders it doubtful to the reader, whether they have any true meaning or not. Being mostly occasional, there is none of any considerable length. The first volume bears the title, "Poems of Many Years"; the second, that of "Memorials of a Residence on the Continent, and Historical Poems."

Among the latter no small number seem to have been written in imitation of Wordsworth's historical pieces, and, like many of them, are merely rhymed prose. It is surprising, that men can go on writing sonnets *à-propos* to every thing, with a fancy, that, because there are fourteen lines strung together by rule, therefore there is poetry. Others of these pieces have a good deal of sweetness and grace, marked by a love of nature, an affectionate sympathy with suffering, and a devotedness to friends and kindred, which are altogether amiable and winning. They give the feeling, that the author is a man of great gentlemanliness of character, of a contemplative turn of mind, elegant in his

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tastes, and fitted to be loved by those near him ; but a poet more by circumstance, study, and imitation, than by native enthusiasm, or original fancy. Accordingly, his poetry, while possessing unusual merits of a certain kind, is yet defective and ineffectual from the want of the poetic soul. It wants impulse and glow. It is elaborate, elegant, stately, and sonorous in form and movement, generous, moral, and devout in sentiment, bearing with it an air of philosophical pretension, and shaded by a gentle touch of melancholy. But there is a frequent want of ease, and a straining after what is original and striking both in sentiment and diction, which turn the pleasure of perusal into laborious effort. The reader is not borne on by the current, but is obliged to bend his mind with an effort, and make a study of the verses. The poem, entitled "The Marvel of Life," will illustrate and justify these general remarks.

"O Life ! how like the common breathed air,
Which is thy outward instrument, thou liest
Ever about us, with sustaining force,
In the calm current of our usual days
Unfelt, unthought of ; nay, how dense a crowd
Float on upborne by thy prolific stream,
Even to the ridges of the eternal sea,
Spending profuse the passion of their mind
On every flower that gleams on either bank,
On every rock that bends its rugged brow,
Conscious of all things, only not of thee.
Yet some there are, who, in their greenest youth,
At some rare hours, have known the dazzling light
Intolerable, that glares upon the soul,
In the mere sense of Being, and grown faint
With awe, and striven to press their folded hands
Upon their inner eyes, and bowed their heads,
As in the presence of a mighty Ghost,
Which they must feel, but cannot dare to see.
It is before me now, that fearful truth,
That single solitary truth, which hangs
In the dark heaven of our uncertainties,
Seen by no other light than its own fire,
Self-balanced, like the Arab Magian's tomb,
Between the inner and the outer World ; —
How utterly the wretched shred of Time,
Which in our blindness we call Human Life,
Is lost with all its train of circumstance,

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And appanage of after and before,
In this eternal present ; that we Are,
No When, — no Where, — no How, — but that we Are, —
And nought besides ; — Nor when our dazed sight,
Weaned from its first keen wonder, learns to fix
The surer and more reasonable gaze
Of calm, concentrated philosophy
On this intense idea, have we gained
One instant's raising of the sacred veil,
One briefest glimpse into the sanctuary. —
We grasp at words, and find them meaningless,
Bind thoughts together that will not be bound,
But burst asunder at the very time
We hold them closest, — find we are awake
The while we seem to dream, and find we dream
The while we seem to be the most awake ;
And thus we are thrown on from sea to sea.
Can we take up the sparkles of choice light,
That dance upon the ruffled summer waters,
And make them up to one coherent sun ?
Can we transform the charred and molten dust
Into its elemental diamond ?
And, tho' thus impotent, we yet dare hope,
From this embased form, half earth, half heaven,
Of most imperfect fragmentary nature,
These scant materials of dethroned power,
This tarnisht Beauty, marred Divinity,
To fabricate a comprehensive scheme
Of absolute Existence, — to lay open
The knowledge of a clear concordant Whole,
And penetrate, with foully-scaled eyes,
The total scope, and utmost distances,
Of the Creations of the Living God.

* * * * *

" He was a bitter Mocker, that old Man
Who bade us ' know ourselves,' yet not unwise ;
For though the science of our Life and Being
Be unattained and unattainable
By these weak organs, though the athlete mind,
Hardened by practice of unpausing toil,
And fed to manhood with robustest meats,
Never can train its sinews strong enough
To raise itself from off the solid ground,
To which the mandate of creating Will
Has bound it ; though we all must patient stand,

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Like statues on appointed pedestals,
Yet we may choose (since choice is given) to shun
Servile contentment or ignoble fear,
In the expression of our attitude ;
And with far-straining eyes, and hands upcast,
And feet half-raised, declare our painful state,
Yearning for wings to reach the fields of Truth,
Mourning for wisdom, panting to be free."

— Vol. i. pp. 117 – 120.

There is much that is fine in this, — the pomp of the numbers, the imposing solemnity of the tone, the richness of some of the imagery ; yet it clearly lies open to the exceptions we have made.

" The Papal Benediction, from St. Peter's " might be quoted as particularly characteristic, — a fine subject finely treated. It is, on the whole, a noble and sonorous ode. The grand introductory swell is, however, interrupted and ruined by a harsh change from the present to the past tense in the third stanza, which stops the reader abruptly, and puts him on thinking and puzzling in order to make out the sense. The seven closing stanzas roll upon the ear majestically, and touch the chord of the sublime ; but they do not bear critical scrutiny.

" Higher than ever lifted into space,
Rises the soveran dome, —
Into the Colonnade's immense embrace
Flows all the life of Rome ;

" The assembled peasants of a hundred mountains,
Beneath the Sun's clear disk,
Behold that peerless Whole of radiant Fountains, —
Exorcised Obelisk, —

" And massive Front, from whose high ridge outslanted,
A spacious awning fell ; —
The swaying breadth each gazer's breast enchanted
To follow its slow swell.

" Why are they met in their collective might,
That earnest multitude ?
Is it to vindicate some injured right,
By threat and clamor rude ?

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" To watch with tip-toe foot and eager eye
Some mere device of Pride,
Meaningless pomp of regal vanity
The void of Truth to hide ?

" To feed some popular lust which cautious power
Would, for wise ends, restrain,
Not bartering to the passion of an hour
What ages toiled to gain ?

" Thanks, thanks to Heaven, that in these evil days,
Days of hard hearts and cold,
Days where no love is found in all our ways,
Where Man is overbold,

" And loathes all tender, mutual offices,
And nothing old reveres,
Unwilling to be seen upon his knees,
Ashamed of his own tears, —

" My soul the gracious privilege of this sight,
This priceless sight, has won,
A people of too simple faith to slight
A Father's benison ; —

" Not in low flattery, not in selfish dread,
Before one meek old man,
A people, a whole people, prostrated,
Infant and veteran.

" By that High-Priest in prelude of deep prayer
Implored and sanctified,
The benediction of paternal care
Can never be denied.

" Most surely from that narrow gallery,
The oriflamme unfurled,
Shelters within its grand benignity
Rome and the orbed world.

" The faintest wretch may catch the dew that falls
From those anointed lips,
And take away a wealth that never palls,
A joy without eclipse.

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" Old pines, that darkly skirt the circling hills,
Bend down in grateful awe, —
Infuse the earth's dry heart, prolific rills,
With Love's unbroken law !

" Bear the glad tidings to your sister seas,
Mediterranean waves !
Let every muttering storm be husht in peace,
Silent the thunderous caves !

" And would my spirit from Earth's embasing rule
Were in this moment riven !
That I might pass through such fit vestibule
Up to the face of Heaven."

— Vol. II. pp. 81 – 84.

" A Dream in a Gondola " is a piece of a good deal of beauty, marred with defects already alluded to ; for example, the following awkward expression of a very common remark, occasioned by the fear of saying a thing in the usual way.

" It is the nature of the Life of Dream,
To make all action of our mental springs,
Howe'er unnatural, discrepant, and strange,
Be as the unfolding of most usual things."

Further on, speaking of the Gondola ; —

" Cradler of placid pleasures, deep delights,
Bosomer of the Poet's wearied mind,
Tempter from vulgar passions, scorns, and spites,
Enfolder of all feelings that be kind, —
Before our souls thy quiet motions spread,
In one great calm, one undivided plain,
Immediate joy, blest memories of the dead,
And iris-tinted forms of hope's domain,
Child of the still Lagoons,
Open to every show
Of summer sunsets and autumnal moons,
Such as no other space of world can know, —
Dear Boat, that makest dear
Whatever thou com'st near,
In thy repose still let me gently roam,
Still on thy couch of beauty find a home ;
Still let me share thy comfortable peace
With all I have of dearest upon Earth,

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Friend, mistress, sister ; and when death's release
Shall call my spirit to another birth,
Would that I might thus lightly lapse away,
Alone, — by moonlight, — in a Gondola."

— Vol. II. pp. 44, 45.

Some of these lines are very sweet, and we can entirely sympathize in this relish for the luxury of the gondola. But the general strain and expression is got up ; it is contortion without inspiration, and so wholly make-believe, that it is clear, from the closing lines, the poet did not perceive whether he were alone or in company. In the first lines quoted we also see how his very common fault, of seeking for effect by unusual expression, leads to far-fetched and questionable terms ; " cradler of pleasures," " bosomer of the mind," " enfolder of feelings," are not very happy designations for a boat. So, too, in an address to a child of nine years, he gives thanks, that the " unnatural bondage of a school " has not

" Blasphemed the Godhead of thy vernal years ; "

which may be very strong, but it is very bad.

We wish that we could speak with more unqualified praise of a book, which has left so favorable an impression of the character of its author. Perhaps we are too insensible to its beauties, and too alive to its faults. If so, we shall not prevent its finding admirers, while we shall feel, that we have only discharged a duty in pointing out blemishes, which some might take for beauties, and doing what we may to put a stop to errors sanctioned by such an example.

ART. IV. — *Algic Researches, comprising Inquiries respecting the Mental Characteristics of the North American Indians. First Series. Indian Tales and Legends.* In Two Volumes. By HENRY ROWE SCHOOLCRAFT, Author of a Narrative Journal of Travels to the Sources of the Mississippi ; Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley ; An Expedition to Itasca Lake, &c. New York : Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 248 and 244.

SEVERAL years since, a few gentlemen of intelligence in the Northwest associated themselves for the purpose of col-

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lecting facts relating to the Indian character, condition, &c., and putting them into a shape to be preserved. The first suggestion of this society came, we believe, from Mr. H. R. Schoolcraft, who was very properly placed at the head of it, and who gave the name, "Algic," by which it was known, — a term formed from the Indian word from which Alleghany is taken, and denoting "all that family of tribes, which, about A. D. 1600, was spread out, with local exceptions, along the Atlantic, between Pamlico Sound and the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, extending northwest to the Missinipi of Hudson's Bay, and west to the Mississippi." Mr. Schoolcraft at once set himself at work to fulfil the purpose for which this society was formed, or rather, began to arrange his past labors, and proceeded to further researches with new zeal. We have not heard what was done by others. It is probable, that Mr. Schoolcraft alone has produced any useful result, though other members may have encouraged his zeal, and urged on his progress.

In the "General Considerations," prefixed to the volumes, of which the foregoing is the title, Mr. Schoolcraft remarks, upon the collections he has made respecting the Indians, that "materials exist" (that is, have been collected by him) "for separate observations on their oral traditions, fictitious and historical; their hieroglyphics, music, and poetry; and the grammatical structure of the languages, their principles of combination, and the actual state of their vocabulary." Out of these materials he has chosen, for present publication, the "Oral Tales," which form a "First Series" of his "Algic Researches." When the other series are to appear, "will depend," Mr. Schoolcraft says, "upon the interest manifested by the public in the subject, and the leisure and health necessary to the examination of a mass of original papers, the accumulation of nearly twenty years." That this interest will be manifested, we not only hope, but believe. We cannot admit, that the opportunity to acquire such valuable stores of information on the "mythology, distinctive opinions, and intellectual character" of the Indians, is likely to be lost through lukewarmness, or want of proper patronage, on the part of the reading public. These interesting points relate to a race, which, from being the sole possessors of the Western hemisphere, — the new world which Columbus discovered and opened to the old, —

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has dwindled into fractions of people, fast becoming less and less, with a principle of decay mingled in their institutions, or pervading their customs, which threatens them, in spite of all the efforts of philanthropy and conservative legislation, with extinction in the course of a few generations. However we may regard the causes which have produced this result, and wherever we may incline to fix the responsibility of having put them in operation, we shall not the less value all memorials that give us an insight into the habits and opinions of this fated race. In the same degree that we deplore the hard destiny that is hunting it down, and feel a sorrowful conviction that it is inevitable, we shall prize all evidences that are recorded to assist us, and those who may come after us, in judging of them in these respects.

No traveller has ever been among the Indians without gathering up something, which he considered illustrative of their customs, languages, or history, well knowing that the public curiosity was awake to all such sketches; that they dashed a spice into his pages. Thus far we have had but small means to determine the authenticity of these accounts. They were often discredited by disagreement, but we had no standard by which we could determine the right. In the works which Mr. Schoolcraft now gives to the public, and those which are to follow, we may flatter ourselves, that this standard is likely to be set up. His advantages have been great, and almost peculiar. Before he became fixed among the Indians in an official capacity, he had passed through their wide-spread country in many and various directions, as his "Travels" show. He had thus far seen them under all the aspects which present themselves to the eye of ordinary travellers. His books of travels all contain much information relative to the tribes he saw; but this information was necessarily superficial, excepting as to externals, numbers, &c. In this respect he was like his predecessors, excepting, perhaps, that he did not profess to have seen so much as they.

It is well known to all who have had even a slight acquaintance with the Indians, that they are wrapped up in a close reserve before most of the whites, — all of them, with whom they have not become familiarized by long intercourse. Rapid observers, such as all travellers are, see little except this assumed exterior, which is intended to conceal, perhaps

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to mislead. And it is most naturally impenetrable in proportion to the inquisitiveness which assails it. Hence such persons catch only views of the surface, and are left to conjecture as to all beneath. These conjectures, as might be expected, have been wild and jarring. Still, they were all, or nearly all, we were likely to have. It was scarcely probable, that any intelligent and well-educated man would be among the Indians for a series of years, upon a footing of unreserved intimacy, making the study of their character a constant object of zealous and benevolent pursuit. The sacrifice appeared to be such as very few would be willing to make. But Mr. Schoolcraft has been in that position; with what qualifications to improve it, the public well know.

Soon after his return from his travels with Governor Cass, in 1820, Mr. Schoolcraft determined to fix himself on the verge of the Northwest settlements, whence he might leisurely survey the grounds over which he had necessarily been hurried by the limits of a summer's tour, and where he might also have the Indian constantly under his eye, in all his varieties of character and condition. Accordingly he accepted an appointment under the government in the Indian Department, which established him over a large area as Superintendent of the Indians, having paternal relations with them, which must lead, in due course of time, to circumstances of intimacy, most favorable to the designs of a liberal curiosity. But this was not the chief advantage which Mr. Schoolcraft enjoyed. In this he might have been only on a footing with many of his contemporaries or predecessors, except in his literary tastes, and his fondness for investigation. At the Sault Ste. Marie, which was his station, Mr. Schoolcraft found an Irish gentleman, who had early obeyed the impulse of an adventurous spirit, and left his native country to embark in the fur-trade, a calling, which, at that time, held out strong inducements to all who were to be lured by a love of novel enterprise, as well as by a promise of easily gotten wealth. Mr. Johnson, while yet a young man, had established himself at the Sault as a fur-trader; thence making excursions, at proper seasons, into the regions of Lake Superior. Thus he became acquainted with one of the principal chiefs of that region, whose daughter he married, as has been detailed by Mrs. Jameson, in her recent Ram-

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bles among the "Upper Lakes." The eldest daughter by this marriage, at a suitable age, was taken home to Ireland by her father to be educated, where she found a kind and efficient patronage in several ladies of rank, who took delight in watching the effect of cultivation on an exotic from so remote a region. She was brought back by her father to her distant home, with every intellectual accomplishment which an apt mind could acquire in the course of a few years. Not many years after this, she became the wife of Mr. Schoolcraft.

This allusion is made to domestic events, as having a strong bearing upon Mr. Schoolcraft's fitness for the undertaking he has in hand. Mrs. Schoolcraft became a most zealous and efficient coadjutor of her husband in his researches and observations. With a good knowledge of her father's mother-tongue, she combined a thorough knowledge of that of her mother. Through her the Indians, or a select portion of them, were admitted to the fireside of the agent as relations, having all the kindly privileges of such, and throwing off the reserve habitual with them under most connexions with the whites. Affinity smoothed the way to familiarity.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Schoolcraft has been maturing the collections, from which the Tales now published are taken, and which will enable him to illustrate their hieroglyphics, music, and poetry; three sources of illustration which are likely to shed much light on the aboriginal mind, tastes, and history, as they strongly mark a race in its primeval stages, and also to illustrate the still higher department of information connected with their language.

In reference to this last branch of Mr. Schoolcraft's inquiries, his "Preliminary Observations" exhibit many hints, which show the important conclusions to which they may lead. There is no doubt, that language is the strongest, the most enduring, affiliation between nations. It may be modified, it may be obscured, until all obvious traces of connexion are lost. Yet something remains to meet the eye of patient and discriminating inquiry, which lends a clue, when no other guide could be found. Mr. Schoolcraft, it appears by the hints we have alluded to, has been enabled through this aid, to ascertain relations between tribes, which congregate them into larger classes than we have heretofore

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felt authorized to admit. The present is not the time to follow out the train of thoughts that these hints would lead to. We refer to them now merely to point out the value of the information which the public may receive, provided Mr. Schoolcraft be encouraged to fulfil his plan.

It is proper now to turn our attention to the "Tales," which form the "First Series" of this work. Early in his residence among the Indians, Mr. Schoolcraft became aware of the importance of "oral traditions" in developing the bent of their minds, their habits of thought, their intellectual invention, and force of imagination; and, assisted by the favorable aids which his domestic ties constantly afforded, he began to collect those which arose from accident, as well as a greater number that were elicited by a kindly spirit of inquiry among the occasional inmates of his household. He saw, as he advanced in this work of collection, that the harvest would fully reward the toil of gathering it; that he was unfolding a view of the past, as well as of the present; that, among the vivid sketches of manners and customs, superstitious observances and supernatural agencies, influencing the destinies of individuals, of families, and of tribes, he was catching glimpses of revolutions, physical, moral, and national, of the bearing of which the narrators themselves were probably but imperfectly, if at all, aware. A rude people, who have no records, no literature, no outward monuments, preserve the knowledge of events, whether personal, local, or general, by tradition, that is, by stories, narratives, or tales, which pass down from father to son, ever changing, no doubt, in form and expression, but essentially the same. The main fact, the original event, still glimmers like a spark beneath smouldering embers or ashes.

Regarding these Tales in this light, as the vehicles that have conveyed down, through an unknown series of ages, the recollections of a people, that have no other means of preserving them, Mr. Schoolcraft has not put upon them an undue value; he has not miscalculated the interest they must sooner or later excite; nor is he mistaken in supposing, that they will suggest a thousand inferences to correct past errors, and lead aright for the future.

In the first place, we must endeavour to feel satisfied, that they are genuine, that they have been rendered faith-

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fully, or with only such modifications as are inevitable in the course of interpretation, or were required to purge some of them of the grossness which often intermingles with the narratives of a barbarous people. With these exceptions, we have every reason to believe that these Tales are true reflections of the "oral traditions" of the Indians; that nothing has been intentionally added, or taken away, with the exception just mentioned.* If we had not confidence in Mr. Schoolcraft's integrity, which would restrain him from palming upon the public a series of stories as aboriginal, which were mainly of his own invention, there is much internal evidence of their being the unadulterated offspring of untutored minds of savages. They are often disjointed, extravagant, and repulsive, and most of them could, with a little art, have been improved in all these respects, if the plan had been merely to make them the groundwork of an attractive work of imagination. We believe Mr. Schoolcraft, at first, feeling some distrust whether the Tales would be acceptable or popular in their present shape, thought of submitting them to some polished pen, which, like the pencil in respect to many of the Indian portraits that have been given to the public eye, would have detracted from their merit in proportion to the embellishment thrown over them. It is fortunate for the public, that he did not yield to this idea. The standard which we now have for measuring Indian intellect, and judging of Indian imagination and powers of invention, of Indian mythological notions and superstitions, — a true standard, as we are fain to believe, — would have been falsified and erroneous. We should still have been left a prey to the fancies of authors, who could paint the Red man *en beau*, with little chance, among their readers, of discriminating the creatures of the brain from the realities of the forest.

Mr. Schoolcraft observes, that he found those, who were professionally the relaters of tales, were also the depositaries of historical traditions. Hence history and fiction were often wildly intermingled, the landmarks of the former being

* Since we have been engaged in these remarks, we happened to allude to "Peeta Kway, or the Tempest," to an intelligent "half-breed," who had not seen Mr. Schoolcraft's work. She immediately stated, that she had often heard her mother tell the tale, — then repeating substantially the whole of it.

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lost in the confusion. But he finds a stamp upon them, whether historical, mythological, fictitious and fanciful, or all combined, which gives a resemblance, wherever heard, by whatever tribe related. This is obvious to the reader, who, in looking over those which come from different tribes, discerns many similar features, which bespeak a common parentage. This suggests an interesting consideration as to the great question of affiliation among the tribes, their arrangement into families or classes, in which the numerous sub-varieties and segregations should be merged. In this respect these Tales have a high value. And that this value might not be impaired by any extraneous ornament, or any attempt at fancied improvement, they have all been left as they were found; their very defects, their occasional wildness and incoherency, and the revolting character of their incidents, being evidences of their genuineness.

Mr. Schoolcraft has many ingenious conjectures as to the antiquity of these Tales. Nearly all of them are undoubtedly of an early origin, as most of their allusions show an ignorance of modern arts and events. With few exceptions, not a hint is found in them that refers to improvements derived from the whites. They belong to the "era of flint arrow-heads, earthen pots, and skin clothes." Nature is untouched; not a tree is cut down. "Tobacco" and "maize" are constantly alluded to, two species of plants which are known to have been peculiar to this hemisphere before its discovery by Columbus. We are surprised at their silence on the subject of "wild rice," which is a grain in certain regions of the Northwest, of incalculable importance to the Indians frequenting the waters where it grows. This omission, combined with other evidences of a higher and more remote Northwestern origin of the principal Tales, may lead hereafter to interesting speculations as to the migration of the Indians, the tendency from the Northwest to the Southeast, which has undoubtedly marked the history of all the tribes now remaining on the Upper Lakes.

Another striking characteristic of these Tales is, that they render all nature social, endowing its various products, its birds, beasts, fishes, and trees, with the faculties of reason and speech, and powers of transformation, that give them peculiar influence over the fortunes of man, for good or for evil, like those that spring from a fellow-being. This propensity

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to give animals, and even inanimate objects, such an intimate communion with the human race, belongs to all rude people, but is particularly conspicuous in the red man, as appears in their traditions. Their fewness, sequestered condition, and wandering habits deprive them of most of the social pleasures. The solitary hunter, the hermit of the forest, learns to look on all objects around him as his companions. Many of the animals surpass him in sagacity and in industry, and all of them in providing against the demands of want. This attracts his notice and commands his respect. He even trenches upon them, to appease his hunger, with reluctance, feeling as if the appetite, that impels him to it, had a shade of cannibalism in it. Indeed, there are some of them which he never eats, but in the extremity of famine.

This same leaning upon animals for comfort and social pleasures, makes the Indian also regard the forest, the plains, hills, rivers, all as holding intercourse with him. From a higher sentiment than governed the "melancholy Jaques," who found sermons in trees, heard music in brooks, and moralized upon the whole landscape around him, he literally looks up through nature to a great invisible Being, incomprehensible, and therefore terrible, and worshipped in and under all the sublime manifestations that speak him forth. Unused to that intellectual enjoyment that belongs only to refined society, the Indian finds, in the varieties of the scene abroad, the whispering branches that give him grateful shade, the high hill that affords him a noble prospect, the rapid river that sends him dancing on his wayward journey, a keener enjoyment than any domestic, any social pleasure, within his reach, can afford. Hence his meditations become sublimated; his dreams, wild; his associations, imaginary; and his Tales all have the stamp of a moody, excited, visionary state of mind.

It may be thought, that we have dwelt unnecessarily long on these preliminary reflections. We have indeed regarded the Tales themselves, independently of such reflections, as of secondary importance. It is true, they have an intrinsic merit, a merit such as a child would discover, who saw or thought nothing of the bearing they have on a most interesting and deep problem, connected with a portion of the human race. Those who have read them, with a constant reference to this bearing, can hardly separate the gratification pro-

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ceeding from this source, from that which might otherwise have been felt, in dwelling only on the invention, the wildness, occasional sublimity, severity of satire, high moralizing, and instruction, — for all these are interspersed throughout the Tales, — which the most cursory reader must find in them. After reading the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments," and a thousand and one other Oriental Stories, we are inclined to place these Occidental Tales not far behind them in all that does not depend on wealth and refinement for its effect.

We will now turn to the Tales themselves, to see how far we are borne out in this praise. The first is "*Ojeeg Annung*, or the Summer-Maker." It is an Odjibwa tale, which tribe calls a certain group of stars, in the northern heavens, "Ojeeg Annung," or the "Fisher Stars," in commemoration of the event to which this tale relates. It was said by a learned man of our country, that our present zones, our present climates, do not correspond with those which prevailed of old; that certain natural phenomena cannot be explained but by supposing, that the position of the earth with respect to the sun has undergone a change. We may suppose, that the Summer-Maker alludes to some such change in the seasons, brought down by Indian tradition. It is a mere glimpse, but such a glimpse as might be supposed to descend through such a shadowy medium.

The Indians rely upon the change of the seasons with a dependence unknown to civilized man, who has a thousand appliances and means to modify and correct its inconvenient or hurtful effects upon his condition. Where "days, and months, and years, pass away," and still the same "white cloak" covers the form of the earth, they become pinched with want, and finally stiffen and sink into the general mass of insensibility around them. A summer, breaking in upon such a people, so situated, might naturally make an impression that ages could not efface. The distinction, which the wolverine, an animal not much known, receives in this tale, is not unsuited to his brisk and elastic habits and frame.*

The "Celestial Sisters" would be regarded as a beautiful Tale in any language. It is well constructed, evolving

* Michigan will find new reason for being pleased with the *sobriquet*, — Wolverine, — which her offspring now bear.

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incidents of a deep interest, sufficiently dashed with extravagance to give them poignancy. The Shawnee's imagination literally roved from earth to heaven in a fine frenzy, and with a finer invention. Waupee, or the White Hawk, is a hermit hunter. Such a separation from all kith and kin is not uncommon in the forest. No evils attendant upon the Indian are particularly aggravated by it. Food, raiment, these do not depend on society, neither do the alleviations of sickness in any efficient degree. If it be slight, his own means are sufficient; if it be mortal, submission is the same in solitude as with the tribe. Waupee, therefore, makes little sacrifice in quitting all, and realizing the poetical wish of Cowper, who longed, in the inspiration or desperation of the moment, "for a lodge," such as Waupee's, "in some vast wilderness, some boundless contiguity of shade."

While thus apart from the world, this hunter discovered, in a remote prairie, the resort of some visiters, who appeared only to touch the earth, not to abide upon it. His curiosity was excited, and, watching from a covert, he soon heard sweet music coming down from the sky, and accompanying a basket, which settled in a "magic ring," of the prairie, and let down twelve beautiful sisters, who began to dance. Though all were beautiful, the youngest (as usual) was the most so. Waupee, accordingly, fell in love with her, and rushed from his hiding-place to woo or seize her; when the whole group, offended at such intrusion, leaped into their basket, and reascended to heaven. Admonished by this failure, Waupee disguised himself, the next day, as an opossum; but this animal appears to have been an object of suspicion even in that early day, and was no sooner seen by the lovely sisters, than they broke up the dance, and reascended as before. He succeeded better as a mouse the next day, and caught his favorite, who was abandoned to her fate by the eleven others, who returned no more to earth. Waupee wins his star-bride (for the sisters were star-maidens) by kindness, and she seems to be satisfied with the pleasures of earth, until a son is born, when the skyey influences begin to draw her upwards again, and she resolves to leave Waupee and his planet. Her preparations are made secretly, and, having her basket all formed, she goes to the magic ring while her husband is hunting, and ascends to the stars with her child, Waupee's ears catching the well-known

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sounds, but all too late to arrest his wife and child. He is left disconsolate on earth many years. At last, the same natural longing for native scenes, which led his wife to desert the earth, leads the son, when he grows up, to wish to revisit it. The star-people consent, that the mother and child may descend and bring Waupee up to their bright abodes. Waupee again hears the well-known music, again embraces his wife and child, and accompanies them back to the skies, taking with him a leg, wing, or tail, of any animal which he could kill, as a specimen for his father-in-law. A great feast greets the new comers, when each star present is allowed to take one of the specimens as his own. All approach to make the selection, when suddenly they become transformed into the fowl or beast, whose wing, foot, or tail had been taken up, and scatter themselves wildly through the heavens; while Waupee, his wife and child, as white hawks, fly down to earth.

We have thus given the entire skeleton of this tale, as a specimen of the general structure and design. It has more than usual unity in its arrangement, but is purely aboriginal in its scope and allusions. It gives a pleasing display of the gentler affections, and shows, that a savage may love "a bright particular star," and win it too. Its principal incidents are most happily made to turn on the *animus revertendi*, the fondness for native scenes, which has great force with the Indians. And the metamorphoses, that take place at the star-feast may easily be supposed to glance at some tradition relative to the constellations, when the bear, the swan, the wolf (dog), fox, &c., were scattered over the firmament.

There is a prominent moral in many of these Tales. Indeed most of them carry home to the heart a useful lesson of life, and were doubtless intended to inculcate it. The "White Feather," a Sioux Tale, furnishes an example of the consequences of forgetting or neglecting wise injunctions, and yielding to the allurements of temptation, that may compare with many an allegory, in which the philosophers of old enforced their teachings of virtue. This "white feather," on the possession of which, like some of the fabled helmets of antiquity, success in difficult contests is made to depend, is won through a dream, when giants of evil are overcome, until one of them, the last to be conquered, assumes the form of a beautiful female, who, although there

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had been previous warning of her blandishments, first deludes and then betrays. Her victim loses not only his magic feather, but the form of a man, being changed into that of a dog, or wolf. But the moral does not end here. Practical justice is finally done. The dog suffers, but is adopted by a modest and virtuous woman, whom he serves with skill and fidelity; and, in due time, he is disenchanted, recovers his feather, and marries his kind patroness.

"Iamo, or the Undying Head," from the Ottawa, is a true Tale of horrors, — a fine specimen of the raw head and bloody bones. It has, however, much invention, and most strikingly exhibits the Indian mind, its proneness to extravagance, belief in supernatural agencies, and dreaming superstitions. Iamo is doomed to die, but death begins at his feet, and he cunningly directs his head to be cut off just as it reaches the neck; thus saving his head, with the principle of life in it, to play an important part in the destinies of his friends. The tale is crowded with adventures of the most extraordinary character, all for the sake of winning or preserving a wampum belt. This ornament, among the Indians, is of great value, and often invested with magic power. It has mysterious virtues, records traditions (each brad being a sentence or a chapter), speaks from the dead to the living, and is transmitted down through generations with reverent care. No object can be more regarded, or more coveted. In this tale, a wampum, around the neck of a monstrous she-bear, and guarded by unnumbered obstacles and terrors, has been sought by thousands, who have fallen in the enterprise. Ten brothers renew the trial, and, by courage and stratagem, succeed in getting the belt. But they are pursued by the bear, which passes over whole latitudes at a leap. She would have left "seven-league boots" behind. The brothers dream, and Manitos interpose. Still the pursuit only relents for a moment. At last a dream reveals the "undying head." It is resorted to, and the she-bear is overcome; when, on her being beaten into fragments, each fragment turns into a cub, and runs off. Hence the race of bears.

This Tale does not end here. But we have not time to pursue the fate of the ten brothers, who are all killed, and all brought to life again, while the "undying head" is reunited to its trunk, and recovers life and form in all its original vigor and dimensions. Nor have we space to pursue the reflec-

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tions which these incidents suggest to Mr. Schoolcraft, as to the aboriginal notions concerning the dead, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, &c. We do not fully concur with him in the extent of the inferences he is inclined to draw from this tale; though we believe that the human mind, in all its stages, even when "most uninstructed and unenlightened," is prone to "seek for some moral and physical panacea, which is to introduce happiness to the race." We do, however, infer from this tale, as well as from incidents scattered throughout these volumes, that there are certain impressions stamped on the human mind, bespeaking the common origin of men, and their common subjection to influences arising from certain great moral and physical changes, that no time, no climate, no dispersion, no degradation can wholly obliterate. Enough ever remains to tell the great truth, that "in the beginning" we were all the same.

"Mon-dau-min, or the Origin of Indian Corn," is an expressive and characteristic tale, though meagre in incident, and with no variety. It is the *Cereal* allegory of the West. The Indian is here taught, that the transformation can be effected only by labor and perseverance. There is much beauty of fancy in describing the change. It is to be regretted, that the idle savage does not seem to be more inclined to profit by the lesson it inculcates.

We feel much disposed to dwell on "Manabozho, the great incarnation of the North"; but he is too important a personage to be compressed within a page or two. He performs a conspicuous part in many of the Tales, — a sort of *factotum* on earth and in heaven. We do not, however, see the force of the expression, "incarnation of the North," unless it be intended to mean more than we can allow ourselves to suppose. Much information respecting the distinctive opinions of the Indian can be derived from the contemplation of this character, which mingles in all things, from the sublime to the ridiculous. His power is comprehensive and minute in its workings, and the delineation of it shows the jumble of ideas which may accumulate in untutored minds.

It is difficult to determine which of the remaining Tales most deserve our notice, in the brief space we have to spare. We are desirous of turning attention to those more particularly, which develope the mythological notions of the Indians,

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and the points where they approximate, in these respects, to the early races of man in the old hemisphere. In the "Red Swan," which is one of the most pleasing of the Tales, there is a descent into the regions of the departed, which, without any of the imagery that invests similar visits, described by the ancient poets, clearly shows, that the red man has glimpses of "Pluto's drear abode," where the "good" stand apart from the "wicked"; the one dwelling in "light," and the other under a "dark cloud."

"The Weendigoes" are the Polyphemi of the Western wilds. Ulysses had not more need of courage and stratagem to overcome the giant Cannibal, who gorged himself on his companions, than the hunter, whose wife had been swallowed by a Weendigo "at a mouthful." The revenge is brought about with much fanciful invention, and the incident of the son's birth from the hollow of a tree, in which the bowels of his mother, scattered about by the Cannibal, had been interred, would have furnished Ovid with a good subject for a metamorphosis.

"The Son of the Evening Star," is a neat allegory, and has a new interest in the interpretation which it gives to the name of Michilimackinac, that island of the Lakes, so picturesque, so full of romantic tradition, so marked by the freaks of nature.

There are constant allusions in these Tales to the manner in which birds have received their form or color, beasts their propensity to fatness or leanness, &c.; some of them evincing much fancy, others much drollery. The Indian is accustomed to look abroad on the infinite variety of form and color that marks animate and inanimate nature, and he may be supposed to indulge in many conjectures as to the cause. In one instance the woodpecker, who sat on a bough watching the ineffectual shooting of a warrior at a monster, gives a hint which leads to a successful shot, and, in reward for his service, has a dab of the victim's blood upon his head, which has made woodpeckers red-headed from that time. It is well known, that the duck has an awkward gait, its legs being placed very far behind, and its tail perked up more than is usual with fowls. This malformation the Indian attributes to a kick which the duck once received from the Manabozho upon the hind part, in punishment for having, after the vigilant manner of its kind, kept one eye open, when both were to have been shut. At the same time and

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place, the beasts and birds took their character for fatness and leanness, the former being the happy consequence of an early and punctual attendance upon a feast given by Manabozho, and the latter the punishment of tardiness. The first comers served themselves, according to the old rule, first, and ate up all the fat and choice pieces, like the bear and the opossum; while the moose, the martin, and others, the late comers, found only a fare, which has kept them the "lean kine" to this day.

"The Enchanted Moccasins" is a most ingenious tale, in which the moccasins play a part equal to the "magic carpet" of the Orientals. A young hunter has a pair made by his sister, and sets out in pursuit of adventures and a wife. He is directed to a village, where he receives instructions from an old woman, who sends him to another, whence none have thus far returned; but gives him many helps and much admonition. The village is reached, and a lodge is found attached to the trunk of a tall tree, in which two beautiful sisters reside. It is in attempting to reach these fair ones, that so many have failed and been destroyed. The young adventurer immediately makes an effort to climb up to the lodge, but finds that the tree suddenly increases in height, bearing up the lodge with it, as fast as he ascends. Assisted by certain magic bones, with which he had been provided by the old woman, he continues to ascend, while the tree grows, like "Jack's bean-stalk," until it reaches the sky, and can get no higher. Here the young man gets in, and addresses the sisters, and finds, as one speaks, the lodge inclines to ascend, and to descend as the other speaks. He accordingly keeps the latter conversing, until the tree had shrunk down to its usual height, when he kills the sisters and escapes. A hot pursuit is soon made by a powerful brother of the sisters, when, almost overtaken, the young hunter enters into the carcass of a dead moose in the way, and tells his moccasins to make tracks onward, which they do to the end of the earth, the pursuer following them up to that remote point, where alone he is undeceived. Retracing his steps, he finds the suspected carcass gone, and renews the pursuit. At the outset he had been enjoined to eat nothing until he had overtaken and punished his enemy. In violation of this injunction, he was induced, when hungry and faint, to taste some tempting fruit, which was designedly

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placed in his path. As soon as he eats, he is overcome, and his victor returns in triumph.

"Puck Wudj Ininee," an Odjibwa tale, speaks of the destruction of all the human species, excepting a boy and a girl, who were asleep when the catastrophe happened. This glimpse of such an event, and the more detailed account of a deluge in "Manabozho," show, that the traditions of the forest shadow faintly forth a time when the earth was drowned, and all but a remnant of its inhabitants became extinct. Manabozho had killed an enormous water-serpent, when the floods rose, pursued him to the highest mountains, and submerged the loftiest tree upon them, in which he had taken refuge, and bathed his chin before they were stayed. While this Tale bespeaks a glimmering knowledge of that awful event in the world's history, which left the ark alone afloat above the general desolation, it discloses also the strange mixture of the ridiculous with the sublime, before alluded to, which marks these aboriginal traditions. As the surface of the earth had been destroyed, it was to be recreated, or restored, and Manabozho does this great work out of the mud clutched by a muskrat, which had died in the attempt, made at Manabozho's request, to dive down to the bottom of the deep, combined with the carcass of a loon. We can hardly smile at these monstrous incongruities, when, while they show us how far the benighted Indian has wandered from the light of truth, they at the same time lead us to believe, that he may once have been near its source.

"Mishosha, or the Magician of the Lakes," is full of necromany and wonder-working. He is an evil spirit with great power, which he exerts only to injure or destroy. But he has daughters, who would cure as fast as he would kill. The self-moving canoe is an ingenious fancy, and the whole tale is a beautiful illustration of the power of innocence, which can invoke efficacious aids in all extremities, making even the agents of harm minister to its relief. Mishosha is finally circumvented and destroyed near the Lake shore, and becomes a sycamore, a tree that always thrives by the waterside, and is mostly hollow-hearted.*

* This is a Sagana tale, and the Saganas, Mr. Schoolcraft says, are the Seminoles of the Northwest. They are now few in number, and have long been on the skirts of our settlements, but inaccessible to all approaches of civilization. The present chief of the tribe is a true Sagana, as an act of

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We would gladly pause upon the "Fire-Plume," in which the fate of Proserpine is reversed, a young man being rapt away from his companion, and borne to a nether region, by two women. His companion, who was asleep at the time, is held responsible for the lost one to his relations, and, according to the custom in such cases, is to pay the penalty by death. A certain time is allowed, near the expiration of which the condemned, while walking on the shore of the lake where the abduction happened, suddenly meets with his friend, who had just come up from the caverns below to revisit his tribe. Returning to them, he relates how he had been taken away by these water-damsels, married to one of them, and permitted to ascend on a short leave of absence. Again he seeks his new relations, and again returns to the surface, his wife accompanying him. Their final departure for the waters is a fine specimen of descriptive writing.

"The day was mild, the sky clear; not a cloud appeared, nor a breath of wind to disturb the bright surface of the water. The most perfect silence reigned throughout the company. They gazed intently on Wassamo and his wife as they waded out into the water, waving their hands. They saw them go into deeper and deeper water. They saw the waves close over their heads. All at once they raised a loud and piercing wail. They looked again, a red plume, as if the sun had glanced on a billow, marked the spot for an instant, but the Feather of Flames and his wife had disappeared for ever." —Vol. II. p. 150.

These desultory remarks may justify the opinion, that there is evidence of intellectual power in the Indians, such as they have not heretofore been supposed to possess. The common impression is, that they are of a saturnine disposition, disinclined to cheerful imaginations, and apt to look on all things around them with little or no sympathy. We have also been accustomed to regard them as exercising the mind only so far as the few practical concerns of life required. War, the chase, these alone were supposed to arouse them, to excite and employ their faculties. But we now

his, which occurred not many years since, will show. In some quarrel among his tribe, he was wounded in the side, so that his liver obtruded through the wound. He seized the protruding part with one hand, while with the other he cut it off; then deliberately cooked and ate it. He is still living, remarkable for his sternness and truly Indian character.

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see, that they have lively fancies, which can invest bird and beast, and even inanimate objects, with social qualities, that may surround them, even in solitude, with many of the charms of life. The stirring excitements of war and the chase are still paramount; but these Tales show, that there may be something to enliven the wigwam fire; that privations, pinching want, and piercing cold, may all be rendered endurable by traditions of Manitos, of lucky and unlucky loves, or of more mysterious hints of mighty agencies, that have convulsed the earth and changed the heavens. It is pleasing to believe, that this is the case; that there are happy methods of softening affections which we feared were unchangeably obdurate, and that untaught and grovelling minds may occasionally be led into deep thought, giving them, though all unconsciously, perhaps, a new enlargement and elevation.

We have made only one short extract from these Tales, as our object has not been with the *manner*, but the *matter*. We have regarded the former only so far as it affected the latter. All externals must be considered as belonging in a great degree to the editor. The aboriginal dress is necessarily lost, or nearly so. The utmost simplicity of rendering should have been the aim. All elaborate language would seem to be a departure from the original meaning. That meaning alone it is desirable to see; the ideas, as nearly as possible, as they came from the Indian's lips. Strictness of adherence to the plain sense has no doubt governed the manner in most instances. Whenever it has not, when there has been an indulgence in fine writing merely, the graft, however ornamental, betrays itself. Most of the poetry is smooth in versification, and of appropriate and striking imagery. Some of it is quite beautiful; but it seems to be misplaced in proportion as it is excellent. It leads to a distrust of the context. But these embellishments are not thrown over those tales which have the most important bearing on the question of Indian intellect, variety of thought, and vigor of fancy. The proofs of these qualities stand out in the main tales with no shade of doubt resting upon them. And for these we are indebted to the long, persevering, and discriminating labors of Mr. Schoolcraft, who, we most ardently hope, may be encouraged to persevere in them.

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ART. V. — 1. *Report on the Affairs of British North America*, from the EARL OF DURHAM, Her Majesty's High Commissioner, &c. &c. &c. Presented by Her Majesty's Command, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. London: 1839. fol. pp. 119.

2. *Appendix to the Same.* (A. B. C. D. and E.) London: 1839. fol. pp. 554.

3. *Copies, or Extracts of Correspondence, relative to the Affairs of British North America.* Presented by Her Majesty's Command; and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. London: 1839. fol. pp. 400.

4. *A Narrative.* By SIR FRANCIS B. HEAD, Bart. London: 1839. 8vo. pp. 448.

5. *The Bubbles of Canada.* By the Author of "Sam Slick, the Clockmaker," &c. &c. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1839. 12mo. pp. 262.

"LES choses vont vîte en Bas Canada," was a favorite maxim, less than two years since, with the partisans of the banished Speaker of the *ci-devant* House of Assembly of Lower Canada. Late events have indeed proved the saying true, though in a sense widely differing from that in which its author and his followers were proud to use it. An insurrection, suppressed by armed volunteers and a handful of troops, almost as soon as attempted; a constitution suspended by act of Parliament; a Governor-General and High Commissioner sent out, with unprecedented legal powers and military force, and charged with the complex duty of restoring tranquillity and good feeling, administering a temporary despotic government, and devising a new constitutional system in place of that which had just worked out its own destruction; the first public act of this new Governor summarily disallowed, and his mission prematurely terminated; a second insurrection, of yet shorter duration than the first, the ex-governor censured for his prompt return to England, and his masterly Report complimented, a few weeks after, by the British Ministry; the Colonial Secretary, in whose name the despatches censuring him had run, all at once removed, and his place filled by another; the Ministry

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itself next resigning, and then restored to office; its Canadian measures brought before the public, and then modified so often and so much at the suggestion of one party and another, that the public can scarce tell any thing about them, but that they differ in some of their most important features from the recommendations of the approved Report; — all this, and much more that has vitally affected the interests of the British American Provinces, has been crowded within this short space of time. The commercial embarrassments, which caused a brief suspension of specie payments in this country, led to a like result in them; and its effects upon the resources of the two Canadas were rendered doubly prejudicial by the incapacity of those, who at that crisis had the ordering of the financial blunders of the Upper Province. Political causes have since visited upon the Canadas the evils of a second suspension. Insurrection has made its appearance in Upper as well as in Lower Canada. In both, men's minds have been heated with civil strife and border struggles. From these, and, since, from the agitation of the Maine boundary question, a war between England and the United States has more than once seemed imminently threatening. For much of the time, indeed, a *quasi* border war has been actually going on, with all the thousands of false rumors and varying but ever hurtful excitements, which must of necessity grow out of such a state of affairs. Things have been moving fast in Lower Canada. Her sister provinces have come in for their full share of the movement; and even these United States have not escaped its influence.

While matters were still in this state of rapid transition, it was impossible to present a satisfactory view of them, in the pages of a quarterly journal. The weekly and daily press could hardly keep pace with their progress; and the statements, arguments, and conclusions of a reviewer would have been out of date before they could have appeared in print. The present, however, seems to be a moment of comparative tranquillity. Lord Durham's recommendations, the plans of the British government, and, in effect, all other plans heretofore proposed by any other party are before Parliament; and its final action upon them is not to take place, till after a full discussion of the entire subject shall have been had in the mother country, and in the colonies most interested. In British America, meanwhile, little

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seems to be in progress, except this discussion, and the conflicting efforts of the various interested parties, to influence the decision of the public voice and of Parliament in regard to the merits of the case in dispute. The excitement of insurrection and political trials, is for the time ended. The border disturbances we may hope, from present indications, are over, or nearly so. And last, not least, the vexed question of the Maine boundary, we may also hope, is at length in a fair way of being satisfactorily adjusted. These appearances of quiet may be more or less illusory ; and, by the time this article shall have made its appearance on our readers' tables, some changes may possibly have taken place in the aspect of affairs. For these, in such a case, we must ask our readers to make the necessary allowances. It is often far easier to foresee the great revolutions which require a long course of years for their developement, than it is to anticipate those lesser changes which a few weeks may bring to pass ; and which usually strike us at the moment as more important than they really are, from the suddenness with which they take place. In our present remarks on British American politics and prospects, we shall do our best to avoid the embarrassments which these accidents of the day tend to throw in the way of such discussions. It will be our object to present a general outline of the actual state of affairs, not to fill in the details of the picture ; and to exhibit the general tendencies of the state of things we describe, not to speculate in the dark as to the precise events which are next to occur. How soon another opportunity may offer itself, equally favorable with the present for an attempt of this kind, is very doubtful.

We shall not discuss at any length the merits or demerits of the works, whose titles we have cited at the head of this article. Only one of them, and that immeasurably the least valuable and least interesting of the number, is before the American public ; its catch-penny title, we presume, having earned for it the distinction of a reprint in the United States. The others, very few of our readers can have an opportunity of seeing. Indeed, were it not so, with the limited space to which we must confine our remarks, we should incline to prefer the task of giving an opinion on the subject of which they speak, to that of merely criticizing them. The heavy emptiness of Mr. Justice Halliburton's "Bubbles," and the

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lighter bombast of Sir Francis Head's "Narrative," certainly tempt criticism; but we shall resist the temptation, and keep as strictly as we can to the course we have marked out.

We cannot, however, help expressing some surprise at the omission to republish Lord Durham's report in this country. The published Correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Canadian Governors is altogether too bulky to be read by people in general; and even a selection from it, to comprise only the more interesting despatches, would have been of this character. But neither Lord Durham's "Report," nor Sir Francis's "Narrative," lie open to any such objection. The buyers of the reprinted "Bubbles of Canada," may thank their author's popular *nom de guerre* of "Sam Slick," and his piratical borrowing from an equally popular title of another man's, for the disappointment they have purchased. One would have thought the name of the blower of the original "Bubbles from the Brunnens of Nassau," might on the same principle have insured his tale of Baratarian experiences a like honor. The Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada has the merit of being in his production as exclusively amusing as the topic he has in hand, his own amusing conduct, will allow; or even, which is pretty much the same thing, as the borrower from his old title-page is uniformly dull in his. To be sure, Sir Francis's book is made up of despatches to Downing Street, addresses, answers, and other manifestoes, strung together very slightly in the way of narrative; and perhaps people had had enough of that sort of thing before he left Canada, in the newspapers, which published so many of these queer productions. We observe, indeed, that even in the Canadas, where, till he left them, his admirers affected to be so many and so very warm, no one has called for a cheap edition of his book; a circumstance which may well excuse the American public for having been guilty of the like omission. But, even this reason does not hold in the case of Lord Durham's Report. It is no collection of old public documents, and, even if it had been, his Lordship's despatches and replies have not attained the unfortunate notoriety which attaches to those of Sir Francis Head. In the Canadas, the Durham Report has gone through a great number of editions, besides appearing *in extenso* in almost every newspaper. That the Canadians

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are the parties most interested in its statements and their consequences, though very true, hardly accounts for this contrast. What is so vitally important to the interests of an extensive border country like British America, cannot really be a matter of indifference, or even of mere ordinary interest, to the United States. Nor is this all. The report is in itself one of the most interesting state papers ever published, and its style and subjects are such as should make it particularly interesting to an American reader. It is full of valuable information and sound reasoning, on every subject of which it treats. The common faults of official writing are avoided in it with great success. There is no parading of a host of unimportant trifles, to give an air of authenticity and labored exactness to what is really a mere piece of patchwork copying from other sources, laborious to no one but the reader; and no dealing in official commonplaces, to mystify the uninitiated, and keep up a show of profound reasoning, where substance there is none. It is a plain-spoken, manly document; bold in its statements, admissions, and conclusions; yet temperate in language, and so carefully guarded in its argumentative portions, as to leave little room for hostile criticism, except to that dishonest class of antagonists, who invent, where they cannot discover, material for censure. Nor must an American forget, that it is a state paper, the production of an English nobleman of high rank and political standing, in which constant reference is made, and never in a tone of disparagement, to the United States, their form of government, their people, undertakings, and objects, in connexion with the affairs of the British provinces. While he points out the errors of his own government and countrymen with a faithful and unsparing hand, Lord Durham has not shrunk from the still more obnoxious duty of often placing the policy of foreigners and their government in favorable contrast with theirs. He has not stooped to flatter national prejudice at the expense of truth. There is in his representations none of that affectation of contempt for this country and its institutions, by which Englishmen have too often shown their ignorance of the subject they spoke of, or their dishonesty, or both. On the contrary, Lord Durham has had the good sense to see, that the wonderful prosperity of the descendants of the British race here, is any thing but a dishonor to the proud land of their forefathers; that even the marked

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superiority, in all that constitutes true prosperity, of these old colonies of Great Britain, now independent of her control, over her newer colonies still subject to it, is a matter to be regarded by her with other feelings than those of mere mortification. If it tell of a fatal error in her past policy towards her old colonies, which forced them to erect themselves into another nation, and of later mistakes in her treatment of the colonies which are still politically her own, — it tells also of the energy of her early colonization on this continent, of the triumphs of her own people and their offspring. It is evidently in this light that Lord Durham is disposed to view the rapid advancement of this country. He sympathizes with that large and happily fast-increasing portion of the British people, which is rather proud of our success as their own, than hurt at the recollection, that it is not in name theirs ; which would make this recollection serve as a lesson for the future to their statesmen, how they deal with colonies, and not as a goad to the baser passions of their countrymen, to keep alive a feeling of hostility which ought never to have been excited.

That a document of this kind should not have obtained general circulation in this country, we think is much to be regretted. We regret it, because of the amount of valuable information on British American affairs, which its cheap republication would have diffused extensively among our people ; and much more, because of the favorable influence which its liberal and enlightened character must have exerted on the public feelings and sympathies, not merely as they regard Canada and its concerns, but also in the far more important matter of their general tone as regards the British people and their affairs. We, too, have among us a class, who imitate the English defamers of the United States, in the temper of their habitual remarks on the mother country. It is not to be wondered at, if a feeling favorable to such retaliatory warfare should prevail to a considerable extent among our people. We could well wish, for the sake of the influence it must have had in checking this disposition, that in this case, the *ipsissima verba* of one of the first of the English liberal statesmen of the day should have been made generally known among us. The silly tittle-tattle of every locomotive story-teller, to Marryat downwards, is hawked over our country with eager haste, as English opinion. It is time the

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other side were heard, and the better judgment of the thinking portion of either people, a little more faithfully communicated to the other. Perhaps it is too late now for Lord Durham's Report to be made a very efficient means of accomplishing this end. The next that may offer, we may hope, will be put to better use.

But we must turn from the Report to the consideration of its subject, — the political state and prospects of British America. As Lower Canada has been the scene of the most critical portion of the recent struggles, and as its condition in general is on all accounts the most interesting, we shall give it the largest share of our attention. The state of things in Upper Canada comes next in interest and importance. The four other provinces have much less in their condition to call for extended remark; though it will be necessary to speak of them, in order to give any thing like a just idea of the whole subject. The great question at issue in the neighbouring provinces is no longer Canadian, but British American, — perhaps we might better say British and American, and include the United States among the parties directly interested in it. The marked peculiarities, social and political, of the Canadas, make it far more difficult of solution than it otherwise would have been; but this is all. They by no means isolate the Canadas, or separate the problem of their future government from that of the other colonies. One cannot in truth imagine a state of things established in either or both of them, that should not of necessity affect, for good or evil, and that in no slight degree, the States, as well as the colonies, which border on them.

Our readers are, of course, sufficiently familiar with the general extent and form of the British possessions in North America, as they appear on the map; the two large Canadian provinces extending along the northern frontier of the United States, and bounded in the rear by the extensive but unsettled tract of the Hudson's Bay Territory; the smaller provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, to the east of Maine; and the insular provinces of Prince Edward's Island and Newfoundland, — the former of trifling extent, and separated only by a narrow channel from the mainland of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, — the latter very much larger, and considerably more remote. Of the Hudson's Bay Territory it will be unnecessary here to speak further, as it

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can scarcely be said to have a political existence; its few white inhabitants being all traders with the Indians, and dependents of the Hudson's Bay Company. The population of the Canadas bears no proportion to their whole extent; it is scattered, indeed, over a comparatively small part of it. The settled portion of Upper Canada nowhere reaches to any great distance from the St. Lawrence and the great Lakes, which form the boundary of the Province, and in some places the strip is very narrow. In Lower Canada, too, the settled country, north of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence, is mostly very narrow, never above a few leagues in width, and often hardly admitting of measurement by miles; to the south of the St. Lawrence, the inhabited tract is larger in proportion to the total area, but it still falls far short of it, and, in fact, below Quebec, becomes a mere belt of land along the south shore, diminishing in width as it stretches to the northeast, and ceasing for some distance before we come to the scanty settlements along the Gulf of the St. Lawrence and Bay of Chaleurs, which contain the population of the District of Gaspé. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island, are far from being thickly settled, their aggregate population, according to the highest estimate, falling far short * of that of the State of Maine. The settled district of Newfoundland is but a small part of the island, extending only along the eastern and southeastern coasts, and that not continuously.

This very partial distribution of inhabited territory must be borne in mind, or the small amount of its gross population will be likely to excite surprise. The Canadas are generally supposed, at the present time, to contain a population of about a million; Upper Canada claiming, of this number, about 400,000, and Lower Canada 600,000. The three Lower Provinces have a population of about 350,000; 140,000 (a number probably beyond the truth) being claimed for New Brunswick; 170,000 for Nova Scotia; and 40,000 being about the allowance for Prince Edward's Island. New-

* Lord Durham's report speaks of 365,000, as the highest estimate for the population of these three colonies at the present time. It is no doubt too high. In 1830 Maine had a population of 399,955, *by census;* and taking her increase in former years as a guide, it must now considerably exceed 500,000. The superficial extent of Maine is much less than that of the three Provinces, and the time, during which its settlement has been in active progress, does not a great deal exceed the time theirs has occupied.

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foundland has a population of perhaps rather over 80,000. The six colonies together, therefore, have not quite a million and a half of inhabitants, which is not far from the present population of the three States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine, and rather less than one tenth of that of the Union.

It must not be inferred, however, from this statement, that the population of the British provinces has been any thing like stationary, or that its increase has been slow, even as compared with that of the United States, since their independence. At the close of the revolutionary war, what is now Upper Canada was a wilderness, and not yet set off from the Province of Quebec; New Brunswick formed part of Nova Scotia; and Prince Edward's Island was almost without inhabitants. In 1784, the population of the Canadas was officially returned at about 112,000 souls; and about the same period that of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward's Island (was estimated, inclusive of some 20,000 loyalist settlers from the States), at little more than 32,000. These numbers may not be quite large enough, but they are probably not very far from the truth. Exclusive of Newfoundland, therefore, of the early population of which it is hard to find any tolerably accurate accounts, the population of British America has increased nearly, if not quite, nine fold in fifty-five years. During the forty years between 1790 and 1830, the population of New England did not quite double itself; while that of New York increased very nearly six fold, — a rate of increase, therefore, a trifle less rapid than that of British America. The new Western States have grown much more rapidly. The population of Ohio, for example, in 1830, was more than twenty times as great as in 1800, — a period of only thirty years. But it is not with these, that the comparison can be fairly made; as the British colonies are only in part new settlements, and in this respect are much more nearly in the condition of the State of New York, than of any of the more western States. Upper Canada, which of itself is in a position analogous to that of the Northwestern States, has not grown in wealth and population any thing like as rapidly as they have done; but, as a whole, the provinces have made great progress; so great, indeed, as to suffer only in comparison with that of the new districts of this country, taken separately from the old. In the last fifty years, the

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population of the whole Union has probably increased rather more than fourfold ; but the proportional extent of its territory, which has been long settled, is much greater than in the possessions of the British Crown, so that the analogy does not hold between them.

We are apt, on this side of the Atlantic, to complain, "not without cause," of the indistinct and often erroneous notions, entertained of us and our doings, on the other side. The good people of the neighbouring provinces have, perhaps, almost as good reason for complaint, in the views which pass current among us of their affairs and feelings. In one respect the cases are considerably unlike, inasmuch as our opinions of our neighbours are founded altogether upon their own representations of themselves ; but otherwise the resemblance, so far as mere vagueness of statement and grossness of mistake are concerned, is strong enough. In general, our citizens have taken up with one or other of two conflicting accounts of the actual state of things ; the one, the workmanship of the most violent of the refugees and their partisans, the other, the chosen counter-statement of the most violent of their antagonists. The former describes the colonial policy of the mother country as a model of all that is hateful, oppressive, and corrupt, and the people as suffering under its tyranny to an extent no longer bearable. The latter, in so many words, denies the existence of abuse or grievance in the colonial system, and all but denies even the existence of discontent in the minds of any considerable portions of the community, said by the malecontents to be thus grievously oppressed. The one pictures agriculture and commerce at a stand, property of all kinds daily losing value, a population daily lessening, — in a word, every interest prostrated ; and all this, not the accidental, temporary consequence of civil strife, but its cause, — the abiding result (long ago felt in its less terrible beginnings, and foreseen in all its whole progress from bad to worse), the result of a long course of misgovernment, and of this only. The other, if it cannot, at the present moment, show a country in the actual enjoyment of prosperity of any kind, at least throws these darker parts of the view as far as possible into shade ; exhibits them as a mere effect of political agitation ; and, in fact, charges the disaffected party with having themselves created all the evils they now declaim against and magnify, for their own purposes.

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It is hard to say, which of these two versions is the furthest from the true one. What there is of truth in either is far more than counterbalanced by the untruth that is mixed up with it; nor will it, as we think, be a work of much difficulty to show, to any candid mind, the preponderance of this alloy in the composition of both. This will be best done, perhaps, by a brief, connected statement of the real features of the case, to the best of our knowledge and belief. The conclusions we are about to present, though in the main agreeing with those so ably urged in Lord Durham's Report, are not hazarded on the mere faith of the Report, but are the result, in part, of a careful study and comparison with it of other and hostile authorities, and in part also of observations, made under circumstances more than ordinarily favorable, on the course of events and state of parties in British America.

The colonial system, then, as it has been in operation in the adjacent provinces, and more especially of late years, has not been, either in design or in effect, what the party lately in revolt have called it. There is no evidence whatever of intentional or even of active oppression of any kind, on the part of the mother country or its government, towards the colonies. The cases of 1776 and 1839 are, in this respect, as little analogous as they well can be. The thirteen Atlantic colonies, of the former period, were in a situation entirely different from that of the six Northern colonies of the present day. The former had brought with them, in their emigration from the old world, every element of the most perfect system of municipal freedom, which the world had ever seen. New England, in her first settlements, of the free will of her Pilgrim settlers, established all these principles in full operation; and the nine other Colonies, though in these respects not equal to those of New England, were yet further in advance of all other communities of their times, than they were behind the four model colonies of the east. The war of the Revolution grew out of an attempt to force from these communities certain of the liberties they had always before asserted and enjoyed. Their free institutions, though chartered by the Crown, were not held as its gift, or as the gift of the Parliament or people of Great Britain. The Crown had merely recognised, and generally with extreme reluctance, a state of things which the colo-

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nists had established for themselves. Its governors were, in a great many instances, hostile to the integrity of those institutions, and had thus been brought into frequent conflict with the great body of the community, who clung to them the more firmly for the reason, that they were in every sense their own. For a long course of years, the French settlements on the continent had forced the British colonists to live in a state of almost constant warfare. From a variety of causes, the hostility of French and English on this continent was, if possible, more bitter than on the old. The political system of the French colony of Canada was as perfect a model of the military despotism, as the New England colonies were of the free republic ; its religion was the antipodes of theirs ; language and origin, and all the memory of old feuds, growing out of European hostility, conspired to set them at variance ; and the Indian policy of the Canadians, by the character of atrocious barbarity which it stamped upon their warfare, filled up the measure of the abhorrence with which they were regarded by the constant objects of that warfare. A great effort at length resulted in the final overthrow of the French rule on the continent. The "heat and burden of the day" had fallen on the colonists, and they naturally looked to enjoy, to their full extent, the great advantages of the conquest for which they had so long sighed. But, instead of this, the occasion was before long embraced, by the Crown and its infatuated advisers, to attempt to carry to a successful issue their own long-standing controversy with the colonies on the subject of popular rights. The French Canadian system, in its leading, odious features, political and religious, was now to be kept in operation, and guarantied by the British Crown, — not merely within the old limits of the French settlements, where it *might* not have been easy to persuade the first generation of the conquered people to adopt an entirely new system, — but over the whole extent of the vast, unsettled countries on the Ohio and Mississippi, to which the two Crowns had, in former times, laid conflicting claims. The old colonists thus saw the preparation made for inclosing them within a hostile population, to worse effect than ever ; for, in former times, they had the Crown and its resources to aid them in their wars against the French and Indians, and now the Crown itself was setting up their old enemies against them ; then the hostilities of the French

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were a check, rather than otherwise, on the arbitrary disposition of the Crown, inasmuch as they forced it to rely continually on the active loyalty of the people for the preservation of its Colonies, and now this same hostility was to be relied upon by the Crown in its struggles for power with that very people. The mask was thrown off. The taxing power claimed, was successfully resisted; and the thirteen colonies became the United States. Old grievances there had been, against which Provincial Legislatures had protested, but it was not on account of these, that the last resort of civil war was tried. Still less was it a struggle on the part of the insurgents for new institutions of government, which the mother country refused to grant. It was, on their side, a war of defence, waged to protect the cherished liberties of their whole people; and, on the part of the government of that day, a war of aggression, undertaken of its own accord against those liberties.

There is nothing of this kind in the recent colonial history of Great Britain. The solemn renunciation of the asserted right of taxation, which was made by the Declaratory Act at the close of the war of Independence, has been faithfully adhered to; and whenever the mother country has of late actively interfered in the internal affairs of her colonies, it has been under very different circumstances, and with very different views, from those which rendered her policy, in 1770, so unjustifiable. Since these States gained their independence, there has always been an apprehension felt as to the duration of the colonial tie in other quarters, and more especially on this continent. The preservation of the colonies, thus held in doubt, has been much more carefully looked to by the government than before. In some of its precautions, as we shall soon show, the government has been most unwise. The object has in fact been hazarded by the means taken to insure it. But it is not the less true for this, that they were intended as precautions, and that the policy of the government has been any thing but one of aggression upon the liberties of the colonists. The complaints of the provinces have not, for a reason we shall soon be able to explain fully, produced so prompt a redress of grievances as they should have done; but they have been attended to, and redress put in progress, as quickly as the slow-moving machinery of office would allow. The struggle has

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long been one of successful aggression on the part of the colonists, generally for the purpose of obtaining a larger share of local independence, but sometimes for much more questionable objects. Concession, — frequently to unreasonable demands, though almost always, from the vice of the system, too tardy to produce the effect of satisfying those who made them, — concession has long been the order of the day with the home government.

Nor has there been, on the part of the mother country, so far as British America is in the case, any apparently intentional or interested misgovernment of her dependencies. Their foreign trade, though not in all respects on the most advantageous footing possible, has certainly not been injured by any course of legislation designed to advantage the mother country at their expense. On the contrary, whatever of loss has resulted from its errors, falls rather on Great Britain and the Empire generally, than on those of her colonies which have enjoyed all the advantages of the Baltic timber duty and of the restrictions on the West Indian trade with the United States. If their internal resources have been slowly and inadequately developed, it has been owing to a cause within themselves, and not to any short-sighted, jealous interference from without. Great sums have been expended by the parent state in internal improvements ; not always wisely, it is true, or economically, but for this again there has been a cause within the colonies. The public lands have been ill managed ; granted in such quantities and to such men, as to have often interposed difficulties in the way of improvement, instead of being made the means of promoting emigration to the colonies to the utmost extent ; but here again, the mismanagement is to be charged to the account of local, not of metropolitan corruption. There has been no postponement of colonial to British interests ; but a sacrifice of both (and more especially of the *latter*) to the jobbing propensities of an influential interest within the colonies themselves. Nor has the patronage of these colonies been, as some may have thought, a source of power, or an object of any sort of consideration to the government. The salaries of their officials are higher than with us, but much too low to be in any number of cases a temptation to persons having the requisite influence with the authorities in England to apply for them. Six men can be appointed governors or lieutenant-govern-

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ors, with emoluments which according to European ideas are any thing but high, and which, while they do little or nothing more than maintain the functionaries receiving them, in the discharge of their office, are only in part defrayed by the colonies themselves, — the governors in almost all cases being paid in part from the Imperial treasury. Each of these six officers has his civil or private secretary, and his aid-de-camp, the latter of course a junior officer in the British service, the former generally a person in some way connected with the governor under whom he serves. The cost of these two offices to the colony is trifling. Besides these eighteen appointments, — exclusive of the military and naval service, which till within the last two years has generally been very little in demand in these colonies, and has never been an expense except to John Bull's own capacious pocket, — there is no kind of patronage within them, direct or indirect, of which the colonist has not his full share with the native of Great Britain. Of course, with an extensive emigration continually going on, from the educated as well as from the poorer classes of the nation, there must be many persons of British birth holding office as judges, sheriffs, and so forth, in the colonies to which this tide of population is directed; just as in Michigan or Iowa, New-Englanders and New-Yorkers are, for the same cause, to be found everywhere in the discharge of local trusts. But were an Englishman to apply in Downing Street for its good offices to help him to such advancement at the present day in Canada or Nova Scotia, he would very quickly see by the surprised reception he would meet with, how completely he had been mistaken in his ideas of colonial office patronage. In some possessions of the British Crown, no doubt, the East Indies for example, a very different state of things exists in this respect; but the North American colonies have no golden cushions for official drowsiness to repose upon, and offer therefore no such tempting prospect to the privileged applicants for ministerial patronage. The slumbers of their office-holders, though beyond all question equally profound, are not equally well paid for; and the "berths" are left to be drawn for by the passengers after they have got on board.

Where then has been the cause of all the actual maladministration, which has resulted from some cause or other in every one of these provinces, and which has led to so much

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discontent in all, and at length in two of them to insurrection? Effects like these do not occur without a cause; and it is not easy to suppose any cause short of very great mismanagement of some kind, capable of producing them. Men may complain, and that loudly, of mere trifles. Even communities may be agitated for trifles. But when, in a community, agitation is carried to that point at which property and life are hazarded in civil strife, we may be sure that something more than a trifle is at stake. If the matter in dispute *seem* at first view a trifle, we may be sure there is something more in it than meets the eye. Imaginary evils find imaginary remedies, or remain unredressed without doing much harm. It is only when injudicious treatment has made them real, that real remedies become necessary, and men grow too impatient to brook long delay in applying them.

In the case before us, it will not be difficult to account for all that has taken place, if we direct our attention to two points; the radical defects of the constitutional system which has been in operation in the colonies under consideration; and the natural tendency of the state of things in England, and of the ignorance which has there always prevailed on all merely colonial affairs. — We will endeavour to bring this inquiry into as short a compass as possible.

Nova Scotia and Prince Edward's Island had received constitutional charters before the war of the Revolution; the former as early as 1758; the latter in 1770. New Brunswick was not set off from Nova Scotia till the year 1785, when it received the grant of a constitution formed on the model of that of Nova Scotia. The government of Canada continued to be vested in a governor and council, appointed by the Crown, and holding office during its pleasure, till 1791; when the Imperial Act of Parliament was passed, which divided it into the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and established a representative constitution in each. The constitution of Newfoundland was only granted in 1832. — The Canadas being the two colonies most important for our present view, it will be enough if we describe the constitution given to them. Those granted at an earlier period differed from it in some particulars of secondary importance; but they have since undergone changes which make them in substance identical with the Canadian.

By the constitutional act of 1791, the legislative power

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was vested, within each of the new Provinces, in a Provincial Parliament of three branches; each having duties and powers analogous to those of the corresponding branch of the Imperial Parliament, on the model of which these local legislatures professed to be framed. The Governor, or other person administering the government, was endowed with nearly all the Parliamentary prerogatives of the Crown, as settled by English usage. Subject to provisions requiring the assembling of a Parliament in every year, limiting the duration of any Parliament to a term of four years, it rested with the Governor to convene, prorogue, or dissolve Parliament at pleasure. Like the English Sovereign, he had an absolute *veto* on all its legislative acts. If unprepared to exercise this power, and yet doubtful of the propriety of yielding the royal assent to any measure, he might "reserve" it to be sent to England. In this case, if approved within two years, the fact was to be proclaimed in the colony on the return of the Act, which was from that date a law. If not approved within that time, the royal assent was considered as withheld. — The Legislative Council was to be in theory the counterpart of the House of Lords; but as the provinces afforded no material for an hereditary aristocracy, it was necessary to make this body in reality very different from the English model. The hereditary principle was abandoned, and the appointment of life Legislative Councillors vested, without reserve as to numbers, in the Crown. By a singular oversight, no provision was made allowing a councillor to resign his office, or enacting its forfeiture even in case of the grossest personal delinquency. — The popular branch of the Legislature, styled the House of Assembly, was to consist of the Representatives of the people, returned for counties and boroughs, very much after the fashion of the English House of Commons, but by a suffrage which in effect was nearly universal, — the landed qualification (a 40*s.* freehold) being possessed by almost every one of age to vote. In theory, the body thus elected was to be the "House of Commons" of the colony; but the theory, as we shall soon see, was one thing, and the practice another. — No provision was made for the payment of members of either House. A system of payment, analogous to that in use in the United States, has however grown up in practice; the members of the House paying themselves at a fixed rate by vote, out of the

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sum allowed for its contingent expenses. Besides the Legislative Council, thus established as a branch of the Provincial Parliament, there has existed another body, with distinct and in many respects anomalous functions, styled the Executive Council. The members of this body are named by the Crown, or in other words by the Governor for the time being, and hold their office during his pleasure. A certain number of them are paid a small salary. If more than that number are appointed, the junior members serve without pay. They are sworn to secrecy, like the members of the British Privy Council, and their "advice and consent" is necessary to the performance of certain of the official acts of the Governor. In general, they may be considered as the confidential advisers of the Governor, though, as he is under no obligation to ask their advice except in a very limited number of cases, it is obvious they do not stand at all in the position of the responsible advisers of the British Crown. They are consulted in general only at his discretion; and, when consulted, they take an equal share in the discussion of the business before them, the individual members having no departmental duties or responsibility. In fact, from the impossibility of its being ever known on what particular subjects the Council has been called to give an opinion, or what opinion any particular councillor has given, this body cannot be said to be subject to any real responsibility at all. To a certain extent, it is presumed to approve, if not to influence or induce, the conduct of the Executive; and its members thus share in the popularity or odium attached to it, but this is all they have to hope or fear from the public for their political acts.

The Legislative Council has not the general judicial power which is enjoyed by the House of Lords. The right of trying for political offences or official misconduct, or impeachment presented by the Assembly, has been claimed for it; but the jealousy, which the popular branch has always entertained of the other House, has prevented it from acquiescing in the claim. Certain judicial functions on the other hand, which our limits do not allow us here to particularize, are exercised by the Executive Council.

In the Nova-Scotian Constitution, and those which were modelled upon it, the powers of the Executive and Legislative Councils were vested in a single body, and not in two,

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as by the Canadian constitution. In other respects the differences were not material, so far as our present inquiry is concerned. The earlier charters have of late been modified, in consequence of urgent popular demands for some change in that respect, so as to assimilate the constitution of the Councils to the Canadian model. In Nova Scotia, this change has taken place within the last two years. Our readers are of course aware, that in February, 1838, the constitution of Lower Canada was suspended for a term of two years, by act of the Imperial Parliament, and a temporary government, by a Governor and Special Council, appointed by the Crown, with restricted legislative powers, was substituted.

A few remarks will serve to show the character of this scheme of a constitution, as it was of necessity manifested, when put in operation. The Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, it will be remembered, has always been, in Newfoundland, an officer of the Navy, and in the other colonies, with two late exceptions only in Lower Canada, an officer of the Army. There was thus a mistake made in the very first step taken. A functionary charged almost exclusively with civil duties of administration, and intrusted besides with the delicate task of managing a representative body, was selected from a body of men whose profession almost of course unfitted them for that kind of service. A military officer is apt to look up with too much of the dependent disposition to his superior, and to expect too much of the same to be shown towards himself by his inferiors ; in a word, he is apt to carry with him his notions of military subordination from head-quarters to the council-room. And a more fatal error for men to fall into, whose success depends on the influence they exert, and not on the mere commands they issue, cannot well be imagined. Again, in the absence of a natural aristocracy of birth or property, — in colonies where none are born to titles of nobility or to wealth much beyond the ordinary standard, and where, in fact, even the accumulation of very large fortunes by successful enterprise is difficult and rare, — to whom can the Governor look for the life Legislative Councillors, who are to play House of Lords to his King ? What more natural, than that he should surround himself with *quasi* peers, from the *quasi* aristocracy of office ? Secretaries, receivers-general, collectors, judges, commissioners, were the material ready to his hand. They lived at the

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seat of government and could attend Parliament at pleasure. They were the society of his little court, the men whom every governor was sure to know the instant he arrived. Above all, they were the men from whom a something very like military subordination could be secured; and was it nothing for a military man, to make sure of one at least of the two Houses of Parliament that were to be inflicted on him? Of such, accordingly, were all the Upper Houses, as they came into existence, under the signing and sealing hands of their Excellencies. Let us add, that in those colonies in which the Executive and Legislative councils were not one body, these causes insured the nomination of Executive Councillors from the same class; that the same individuals were often members of both, and, worse still, that the paid clerk of one was often a member of the other. This added, our sketch of this part of the system is sufficiently complete.

The constitution and powers of the representative branch of the Legislature were not put on a much better footing. No arrangement was made in the first instance, for any future changes in the representation of different districts. The country was set off in counties, at first tolerably equal in respect of population, but which soon became, in a new country, as unequal in this respect as they had from the first been in extent. Hence arose a most unfair local advantage to the old districts near the seat of government, over the newer and more remote localities. In some of the colonies, this was much more severely felt than in others; and in general some attempt has been made in name at least to remedy it by Provincial legislation. But in all these cases, the remedy has been of a very insufficient character, and has not been applied till after long and vexatious delays; the ruling interest in the colony finding its account in keeping all things, to the best of its power, as they were. In the mean time, it has had the effect of more or less weakening the hold of the elected House upon the constituency as a whole, and thus indirectly aiding the official body in its warfare with the House,—of contributing to make a great portion of the community everywhere discontented with the existing order of things,—and, in Lower Canada, of adding increased bitterness to the controversy of the rival races, by the undue preponderance it gave to one of them in the representation.

But this was a trifling evil in comparison with that of

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which we have next to speak. At the time when these Assemblies came into existence, the Executive was already in the enjoyment of certain revenues, — revenues, indeed, which were generally almost or quite equal to its then wants. These were of two kinds, the hereditary revenues of the Crown, derived from a variety of sources, which we cannot here particularize, and the avails of certain taxes levied under acts of the Imperial Parliament. The Executive laid claim in all cases to the unrestricted appropriation of all these funds; and for a time, in the early weakness of the Assemblies, the claim was tacitly acquiesced in. But when, as shortly happened, the government had to apply for additional votes of money and new taxes, the Assemblies began to claim the right of at least overseeing the accounts of the other branches of the revenue, to judge with what degree of economy and propriety they were administered, and what were the real merits of the application for further grants. From this claim, the transition was easy and inevitable to the claim of an indefeasible natural right, as the people's representatives, to control the appropriation of *the whole revenue*, however raised. It was hardly less inevitable, that the military governor should side with his council or councils of office-holders, in their death-struggle against all such claims from first to last, and that thus the singular spectacle should soon be presented in every colony, of an Executive striving to carry on the government, with a majority of the representatives of the people in permanent opposition to its whole policy. In this struggle, it will be remembered how nearly powerless, to all appearance, the Assemblies at first were. They could send up bills, but their official antagonists were then to sit in judgment on them, and say to what extent they might become law. And when, by their permission, sent up to the Governor, and by him ratified, it was further at their pleasure, and after their interpretation of them, that they were then to be put in force. The Assembly had no voice in the appointment of this official body, to whom the execution of its laws fell. "During the pleasure of the Crown," was their tenure of office; or, in other words, during the pleasure of those head officials, who, as Legislative and Executive Councillors, had the ear of the Governor, and wielded thereby all the patronage of the Crown, in behalf of themselves, their families, and adherents. These men were subject, as

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we have remarked already, to no sort of responsibility for their advice and influence. So long as the Crown had revenue enough at its disposal (or rather *at theirs*) for the payment of their salaries, they could well afford to laugh at all the hostile efforts of the House.

Our limits do not allow us to go into the history of this finance controversy, and show the slow steps by which, at length, most of the demands of the Assemblies, in this respect, have been conceded. We cannot even trace out the results of the warfare between the Assemblies and the officials with any degree of minuteness. The portion of Lord Durham's Report, which relates to this subject, enters into a great variety of particulars, and is interesting and able in the highest degree. We must confine ourselves within such narrow limits, as will materially detract from the mass of evidence, by which our statements would otherwise be found supported. No one, however, at all familiar with the course of events in the colonies, can fail to see, that the slight sketch we are presenting, so far as it goes, is a faithful representation of what has been in constant progress in them. To give facts here, one by one, would be to fill volumes. It must be tolerably self-evident, that, in a controversy of this kind, neither of the parties to it could adhere to a line of conduct that should be unobjectionable. Office-holders, in their control of public expenditure, are inevitably lavish ; and this, the moment their craft is in danger, as inevitably renders their use of the public funds corrupt. The more violent the opposition of a popular body to their privileges, the more corrupt and lavish is the unpopular body obliged to become in its support of them. The assailed Councillors have their military chief in their hands to begin with ; and there he is almost certain to remain. Their acts are, to all appearance, his ; for all patronage, in name, emanates from the Crown, and he is its representative. The Assembly, of course, attack him, not merely for this patronage, but on all other grounds where they can find cover for attack. He retaliates by throwing himself more intimately than ever into alliance with their natural enemies ; and, since he has the ear of the colonial office, just as the local officials possess his, he enlists the home government in his support, as they, in the first instance, enlisted him in theirs. That this should be the case, necessarily argues very little against the Colonial

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Department, so far as intentions go. It is distant, and therefore of necessity at first ignorant; the Governor is its nominee and representative; his despatches are all it has to decide upon, and they are in effect the special pleadings of the knot of office-holders, for whom and by whom the war is really waged. Thus for years may things go on under such a system. But, in course of time, the pecuniary wants of the local governments become urgent. The House grows bolder, as its power of annoyance grows. Its remonstrances assume the form of threats to the local Executive, and of strong denunciation of the Governor's course to the home government. It has the power to make its complaints heard; and the obnoxious Governor is superseded. But the root of the evil is still untouched. The new Governor falls into the old hands. For a time, his instructions to conciliate the House may do something to check the course of things; but, in the end, and generally very soon, the old measures in the colony, and the old story in the despatches, are the sure result. And how, meanwhile, is the Assembly acting? Right at first, is it not sure to be carried into extravagances, which must give the officials great advantages over it, not merely in the view of the Downing Street officials by whom the controversy is to be judged, but even in the view of a considerable portion of that colonial community on which the House had to rely for support? The Governor's advisers it has no means of reaching. They are not, as in the States, directly or indirectly chosen by the people; so that the people, if they sustain the principles of the House, can bring them into harmony with it. Nor are they, as in England, directly responsible to the House, so that an adverse vote of that body can force them to resign and give place to men who can secure its confidence. The popular leaders of the House soon find themselves, therefore, cut off from all chance of obtaining the direction of affairs. They may have a Speaker of their party, and may command the votes of the majority of the people; they may force, by dint of long and hard fighting, some of their favorite measures into laws; but, for all this, their enemies, the enemies of all their measures, are irrecoverably the government of the colony. In England and here, the prospect of being some day in administration, always tempers down the violence of an opposition party. It may profess

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more than it means to practise, and commonly does. But this inconsistency has its limits. The leaders of the party feel, that success may at any time expose the insincerity of their professions; and they keep them, therefore, within some bounds.

But, with a state of things like that we are describing, there is none of this. The agitator cannot go too far or too fast for the object immediately before him. He may profess, promise, assert, deny, assail, or defend, at pleasure. He is a chartered fault-finder, fearless of ever being subject to the same fault-finding ordeal in his turn. His antagonists use the public purse against him; he too must use it against them. Nor are the means wanting to his hand. His constituents want money from the treasury to make roads and build bridges, to pay for schools, hospitals, &c.; perhaps, even to buy seed-wheat and potatoes. * What can he do better than gratify such longings in the way most conducive to his own popularity and interest? It will never do to rest content with appropriating moneys to these objects, for his enemies in office to expend against him; and, therefore, as a thing of course, his bills have his own and his friend's names on their face, as commissioners to expend them the right way. If the officials refuse to pass such a bill, well; theirs is the odium; and it is apt to be so intense in these matters that affect the pockets of so many, that he knows they will shrink from incurring it, and indeed would be glad probably if he could make them. If they pass it, well; he fights them with their own weapons. But the struggle does not end here. He soon finds, that the less he does to make

* The Legislature of Lower Canada, for a great number of years, distributed large sums yearly among the inhabitants of several counties, for this last purpose, nominally in the shape of loans. In one year (1817), $ 140,000 were voted away in this manner; and of the whole, some 30 or 40 dollars only are known to have been repaid, being one repayment by an extraordinarily cautious purchaser of a mortgaged farm! By a number of these alms-giving acts, seed-wheat could be had almost for the asking, without reference to the size of a man's farm, to the amount of 60 Winchester bushels; other grain, to 45; and potatoes, to 30; and this, too, in counties lying north of Quebec, *till the 25th of June or 1st of July!* The later acts were not a great deal better in their provisions, than these early ones. On all the other subjects named in the text, the popular legislation was often almost as bad as on this; and, though Lower Canada, in this respect as in many others of the same kind, had won the palm of preëminence, it must not be supposed by any means, that its legislature is the only one which has resorted to measures of this kind. "*Mutato nomine,*" and with some qualifications as to frequency and extent, the charge lies against all.

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the community independent of these grants of which he is the distributor, the better it is for his purposes ; and he is thus led to make it the policy of his body to centre all patronage of this kind in itself, as the one great popular corporation of the lands, instead of struggling for that invaluable boon to any country, the multiplication of corporate or municipal bodies, vested with powers of local taxation and administration for local objects. The officials cannot, from the nature of the case, be the advocates of popular local institutions, to supersede the clumsy, centralized system whereby they live. And thus, between the two parties, no honest attempt is ever made to secure this end. The popular leader may, for appearance' sake, pretend to aim at it ; but his acts will too often belie his words. Sometimes, of course, in practice, the rule we have laid down in this case, will be infringed upon, and a popular leader will be acting on more enlarged views than his proposition would naturally tend to give him. The rule is not the less a rule, for such exceptions. We are speaking of general tendencies, not of isolated acts ; and, for every exception that could be cited to our rule, could easily cite a dozen facts in evidence of its correctness.

The ball is still rolling. "When we want a bridge, we take a judge to build it," said a popular member of a provincial legislature, whose pithy saying is well quoted in Lord Durham's Report. The popular leader has not before his eyes the fear of being soon himself a judge on a low salary. It is not in his line. He is at war with the judges (for unluckily the judges *in general* have been in front rank in this party warfare) and with all the rest of the salary-receiving fraternity ; and his zeal to cut off their resources and increase his own, by diverting all the public money he can from their expectant pockets to his commissioners' hands, is checked by no visions of an approaching exhaustion of his own purse, by a like process. Can he stop short, under such temptation, at the precise point at which each salary becomes just what it ought to be, for the advantage of the public service ? He is more than politician, more than what most men call patriot, if he can.

But we must go further yet, if we would see the whole length to which this controversy has been carried, and the means eventually resorted to by the Assemblies, to decide it

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in their favor. Unable, by mere hostile votes, to remove their antagonists from office, and indisposed to wait the tardy process of battling away fraction after fraction of their emoluments, in the vain hope of starving them out of its enjoyment, it was natural, that they should before long try the experiment of singling out obnoxious individuals for attack, by direct, or, as was the more common course, by indirect impeachment. Here, again, their leaders were exempt from all immediate fear of the *lex talionis*. They could play their game alone. The judges and their brethren had nothing for it but to complain of persecution, and stand on their defence. Of the impeachments, formal and informal, which grew out of this state of things, some were richly deserved, and many not wholly undeserved; but the temptation to an abuse of power in the resort to them, was altogether too strong to be resisted. No competent tribunal existed for the trial of these high complaints, for the House, of course, repelled with scorn the idea of submitting them to the judgment of the Legislative Council, as a House of Peers; and the ordinary courts of law were obviously inadequate to entertain them, even if their own high functionaries had not been, as they were, continually their object. The House proceeded, therefore, by committees of inquiry of its own body, always of necessity hostile to the parties to be accused. In collecting material for accusation, this body often set aside every form of justice and rule of evidence. The committee reported. The House sat in judgment on its own complaint, and forthwith addressed the Governor to suspend, and the colonial Minister to remove, the accused officer. Did the Governor hesitate to become a party to the proceeding, and require, that the accused be heard before being treated as a criminal? — a supplementary address was ready on the instant, to extend the benefit of the proposed impeachment, so far as it might be possible to do so, to such offending Governor himself. Does the colonial Secretary, too, seem reluctant? committee follows committee, address follows address, and threats of the stoppage of the supplies follow all; till from sheer weariness, if for no better reason, the Secretary some how or other gets rid of the complaint, and the hunted official is removed to some berth in another colony, or is suffered to resign uncensured, or is dismissed as a delinquent. In any case, his party has been harassed and humbled, and his assailants have gained their ends.

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Partial successes, after a long and severe struggle, seldom make men moderate. The pretensions of the body which has gained them advance as fast as they are gained. A successful leader, who has carried matters thus far by agitation, is apt, on each new concession, to take new ground upon which to urge a claim to something more. After a certain time, so spent, he is not unlikely to lose all desire to have the popular wishes really satisfied, or its substantial interests advanced. Agitation has become a trade; and the agitator sees the loss of his capital in the redress of grievances. Delay of redress has soured the feelings of his followers, and they are ready to be induced to advance new claims. Demand is now heaped upon demand; not to obtain justice, (though *the many* still themselves seek nothing more,) but to force from the ruling power a refusal of what is asked, that the work of agitation may go on, and its workmen prosper. This last stage has by no means been reached in all the British colonies. Perhaps we ought not to speak of it as approached, or approaching, except in two of them, — the Canadas, where, for reasons we shall speak of presently, the controversy has assumed a much worse form than in the others. In the Canadas, however, it certainly has been reached; earlier in Lower Canada than in Upper, and to much greater effect, whether we regard the number and character of the demands made, or of those who have made them. But of this hereafter.

We have, as yet, said nothing of the course of events in England, and their influence on this colonial struggle. During all its earlier stages, it will not be forgotten, that the party in power in the mother country was that which there set itself against all reform or change, as far as it was possible to avoid it. The sympathies of this powerful party, were, of course, for a variety of reasons, altogether with the official party in the colonies. We are all apt to see things as we wish; and it hardly argues a national foregone conclusion to "oppress" the colonies, if those, who in their whole course of policy were nervously anxious to avoid change at home, should have been slow to admit the occasion for radical changes at a distance. Be this, however, as it may, (and we have no disposition to underrate the mischiefs of this course, or to defend in the gross the very mixed motives which led the party to adopt it,) it is certain, that this sympathy was to the

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colonial officials, in all their controversies, a tower of strength. They had, in fact, three principal resources ; the first, in the extravagance of the claims often urged by the Assemblies, and the frequent violence of their measures, by which many in the colonies were driven from the popular ranks, and, at least, *inclined* to yield them a measure of support against such assailants, and by which, also, they are so materially aided, in pleading their cause in England, with all moderate men, as well as with their friendly judges, of the ministerial phalanx ; the second, in the patronage of the Crown, which they wielded in the colony, to multiply and *secure* their supporters, but which was useless to them beyond the colony ; and the third, in the sympathy of the dominant faction in the English Court and Parliament, to which at least they always looked as the grand security of their continued power, not merely from its direct effect in securing them a favorable hearing, whenever Downing Street was called upon to give judgment on their demerits, but still more from the general impression it contributed to give in the colonies, of the probable permanence of their power.

In 1830, however, this metropolitan party was doomed to undergo defeat ; and, from that time to this, professed reformers have wielded the powers of the government, and even radical reformers have been found in general supporting the administration. Before this great change took place, the colonial liberals had gained some advantages, but their progress had been slow. It did not become at once irresistible ; and it has not unfrequently been made matter of complaint in consequence, by those who were disappointed in this result, that the English liberals in power have been just as thorough colonial Tories, as their antagonists were before them. The charge is not a just one. The policy of the colonial office, since 1830, is open to attack, no doubt, but not justly to this. The new head of the department has had the old subordinates about him, and much of what goes forth in his name is in fact of necessity theirs. Besides, his correspondents and agents in the colonies were still the same. It was from the officials there, that he received his ordinary information, and it was to them that he had to intrust the developement of his plans. How could the policy of a department, thus divided against itself, be other than wavering ? On the whole, however, the can-

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did observer must acknowledge, that, in general, Downing Street, under the new *régime*, has decidedly favored the popular party in these colonies; and that the successes of that party have, in consequence, been much more rapid than they otherwise could have been.

Still, for the reasons we have explained, its victory was not complete. The reform governments were too busy at home, to give their full attention to what was still an obscure controversy beyond the Atlantic. The colonial Tories still lived in hope, that their old friends would, ere long, return to power, and they therefore abated no jot of their pretensions or zeal. The opposition, on the other hand, by the near prospect of success, was often made more exacting in its demands; and when, as soon happened, a number of these were not at once gained, its complaints were so much the louder and more bitter. A state of things like this had a strong tendency to hurry on that last stage in the colonial controversy, which we have already described, and to which things have advanced in the Canadas, though not elsewhere.

But we have thus far confined our attention to a single feature of the controversy. This contest with the office-holders, or, as the Lower Canadian opposition not inaptly styled them, the "*Bureaucrats*," was by no means the only, nor even the immediate, cause of the recent troubles. There are elements of internal strength in a popular party, which insure it a speedy triumph, where the battle is an open, stand-up fight of the few against the many. In New Brunswick, the Bureaucracy have quietly lost the day. In Nova Scotia, they have all but lost it. Had the struggle in the Canadas been merely what it was in them, there would no more have been an insurrection in the one case than in the other. Let us turn our view then a little more closely to some of the other grand, early errors of the constitution-makers, and the effect of the state of things since existing in England, in respect to them. On this part of our subject, we cannot hope to say enough for the full explanation of the case. To do this, we must make what we are writing, a book, not an article.

We have seen how clumsily the constitution-makers provided for future government and legislation in the colonies. What sort of system did they establish or allow *de facto*, for their ill-contrived machines of constitutional government to

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set to work upon? If a good one, the clumsiness of their machine might have been of less consequence; if bad, the opposite. — To omit, then, all minor errors, and all considerations not absolutely necessary.

The germs of a politico-religious feud were introduced into all the colonies. The church of England, and, though to a less extent, the kirk of Scotland, too, bore with them to the colonies the claim of spiritual superiority. Yet of those who emigrated to form their population, the great majority were not members of those sects. Catholics and dissenters constitute three fourths of those who leave the old world for the colonies. The settlers from the States are, of course, all "voluntary-principle" men. These claims of the established church or churches have been put forward to a different extent, and have led to very different consequences, in degree, in different Provinces. In all, however, as a matter of course, there has been an intimate alliance between the church and the Bureaucracy, not, of course, that every officer-holder has been of the favored sect, but that the great body of them have been, and that their policy has been that of the sect in its claims for power. In justice to the Scottish church, we are bound to say, that, in this unholy struggle, it has never stood the foremost. To the English church, in every colony, has belonged this unenviable distinction; and the church of the sister kingdom has generally, rather stood on her rights, as a recognised established church, against the all-exclusive spirit of her rival, than attempted to urge claims of its own to any unfair advantage over other religious bodies. The exceptions to the rule are not many.

This alliance with the high-church party, on the whole, tended to increase the strength of the Bureaucrat faction. It gave them a stronger hold on Tory sympathy in England, and served, to some extent, to mystify the question of colonial parties, in the eyes of very many, in the old country, who were not Tories, but whose prejudices were in favor of the church establishment at home. In the colonies it had no tendency to make either of the allied powers *popular*; for there both office-holders and high-churchmen were, from the nature of the case, hopelessly in the minority. But it strengthened them, notwithstanding. It secured a class of influential settlers, who would otherwise have had no bond

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of union with the oligarchy of the bureau. The emigrants of the established churches were very often men of wealth; and, on the average, they ranked, at all events, beyond any other class in this respect. With the officials, they were generally strong enough to make their profession fashionable, though not popular.

In the lower provinces, this fiction of established churches went little further than the creation of a bishopric and the elevation of the bishop to the Council, as a *quasi* Lord Spiritual, on the English plan. There was a grant from the Home government in aid of the church of England, and an apology for a grant to that of Scotland. And, by virtue of the high-church composition of the Bureaucratic Councils, there was no small share of influence and patronage exercised in favor of "the church" as a temporal-endowment-loving corporation. But here the matter rested. Of late years, the grants in aid of the richest sect of the colonies have been cut down; and, under the popular influence which has effected this object, they must soon cease entirely. The same influence has dealt and is dealing heavy blows on the church ascendency in their Councils. In fact, with the exception of Newfoundland, where the great numerical preponderance of the Catholic body has had its influence on the controversy, it may be said to be now nearly over.

In the Canadas, the case is far otherwise. Besides the influences above described, and common to all the colonies, the Constitutional Act of 1791 inflicted on these colonies a provincial endowment for a future establishment. The Catholic church was found established and liberally endowed at the conquest; and, by the first solemn acts of the conquerors, it was for ever guarantied in its endowments, and, with a few reservations of minor importance, in its other rights and claims. Among the latter was a claim of tithe, — not the tenth part of the produce of the country, however, but only a twenty-sixth part of the grain crops of the Catholic parishes. This the British government guarantied; with the reservation, that it should not be exigible by the Romanish church on the lands of any Protestant. To counterbalance, probably, these advantages, it was enacted, in 1791, that an *eighth** of all lands thereafter alienated by the Crown, should

* The act says, "equal in value to the *seventh of the land* so GRANTED," in other words, to *an eighth* of the whole land, including the reserve. In

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be set off from time to time "for the support and maintenance of *a Protestant clergy.*" Of what sect this "Protestant Clergy" was to be, did not appear; though from the power, which another part of the act gives to the Crown, of erecting, by a certain procedure, "rectories of the Church of England" in the colonies, and endowing them out of these reserves, it has been insisted upon by the adherents of that church, that no other sect could have been had in view in the act at all. The Provincial legislatures were prohibited by it from making any laws touching these "clergy reserves," or the uses they should be put to, without the virtual permission of the Imperial Parliament in each case; all such acts requiring to be laid before both Houses, previous to the royal assent being given them. It is quite beyond our power here to go into the tedious history of this fertile source of discord in the unlucky colonies that have been cursed with it. In Lower Canada, though a crying evil, it has been less a source of religious animosity than in Upper; for the reasons, that the entire amount of the reserves there is less, their value smaller in proportion, the number of Protestants to dispute about them not one fifth of the inhabitants of the colony, and other all-engrossing matters of dispute (of which we shall speak presently) forcing them to stand as much as possible together, against a common antagonist. But, in Upper Canada, the mischiefs that have flowed from it are almost endless. The violence of the controversy between the different sects of Protestants, led the Crown, many years since, to take no measures that should give interpretation to the doubtful phraseology of the act, till the local legislature should have passed a bill for that purpose; after which it (the Crown) would use its influence with the Imperial Parliament, to procure its acquiescence in the terms of such bill. Year after year, accordingly, this question has been debated in Upper Canada, in Parliament and out of Parliament, perplexing all other party quarrels, and embittering them by the most abundant infusion of the gall of sectarian animosity. Bargains, almost without number, have been proposed be-

common parlance, this has been called a *seventh*. In practice, also, the terms of the act have been set aside, and the seventh set off. In Lower Canada, by a happy piece of official juggling, exposed in one of the special reports, appended to Lord Durham's general Report, more than one fifth of the land, actually granted, has been, in many cases, set off, and as much as one fifth in all others.

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tween rival sects, to give them the power to seize and share the tempting spoil. Tricks more numerous still, have still ever been detected in time to defeat each proposed coalition and make the breach between the parties wider. The great body of the stancher liberals have long insisted on the devotion of these reserves to the advancement of general education, without distinction of religious creed; but many liberally disposed men, of almost every sect, have looked coolly on this project, and favored some scheme or other of religious distribution. To fill the cup to the brim, one of the last acts of Sir John Colborne, before his recall in 1835, was the endowment of fifty-seven rectories of the English church out of these reserves. The legality of the act was long questioned; but, after a long course of self-contradiction, the Home government seems at length to have acquiesced in it. Not so, however, the opponents of the church in Upper Canada. By them (and on *this* branch of the question all, save the members of the sect, are in violent opposition) there has been manifested but one feeling in regard to it, that of undisguised and increasing dissatisfaction. The present House of Assembly was chosen under circumstances of peculiar excitement, which threw this question into shade; and it has not, therefore, at all represented this public feeling. Its last act, — an act passed in a manner so indecent as to betray, in every step, the intrigue to which it is to be traced, — has been to re-invest the reserves in the Crown; the partisans of the dominant church hoping thereby to gain from the Crown better terms than they could have got from the people. But the intrigue, however it may prosper for the hour, promises little for the future. The province is on the eve of a general election, and the reserve question is now again a prominent one. A new House of Assembly is tolerably sure to protest, and that strongly, against these dealings of its predecessor.

We should have mentioned, *en passant*, that, pending all these controversies, the current proceeds of the reserves come into the hands of an ecclesiastical commission, and that the church of Scotland receives a meagre pittance in either province, and the richer church the large remainder. The reserves are now in process of sale, and the moneys paid for them are invested as the principal of a church fund. This disposition by no means tends to make the bulk of the com-

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munity less impatient under the long-continued agitation of the subject.

To turn to another topic. The precedents and modes of thinking of the old world did not stop short in their effects at this attempted union of Church and State. The same ignorance of the state and tendency of things in a new country, which alone could have led the framers of the colonial system of British America into the blunders we have been considering, betrayed them into many others of the same kind. A new country, for example, requires to have a constant stream of population poured in upon it from without, to develope its resources to any thing like their full extent; and, for this purpose, its unsettled land must be kept in the market on such terms and in such a manner as shall present the utmost possible inducement to the settler to purchase and improve it. It is difficult to conceive a stronger exemplification of the unfitness of men merely conversant with the laws and usages of an old country, for the task of directing a grand operation of this kind, than is furnished in the history of the land-granting department in these colonies. In this country, under the colonial *régime*, things were often bad enough in this respect; but it seems as though the politicians of Europe had been learning backwards during all that time, if the sins of omission and commission since chargeable upon them are to be taken in evidence. It is impossible here to give any adequate idea of the disclosures of the Durham Report, and its supplementary documents. They all speak the same language, however, as that which we have been applying to the case in its other aspects. A few great mistakes on the part of the Home government in the first place; and then a long series of local frauds and malversations, so many, varied, and audacious, as to excite surprise, not less at the boldness of the Bureaucratic party's devices to postpone their fellow-colonists' interests, and the orders of their nominal masters of the colonial office, to their own fancied advantage, than at the easy ignorance on such matters which must have prevailed in Downing Street, for such things to be possible. We will give an example or two in illustration.

One of the most glaring instances, perhaps, of mistake on the part of the Home government, is furnished in the early history of Prince Edward's Island. Nearly the whole

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of this most fertile island (1,400,000 acres) was in this case alienated in a single day, in favor of a few individuals, resident in England ; who, in general, expressed no design whatever of settling personally on their grants. There were conditions annexed to the grant, binding the grantees to establish a certain number of settlers on the island within a fixed time, as well as to pay a certain quitrent. Neither condition was fulfilled ; and no serious attempt was made to enforce their fulfilment. The consequences to the colony, from its first establishment to this day, have been most serious.

Another of these errors, and one far more extensive in the mischiefs it has produced, is that which inflicted on the Canadas the clergy reserve system, which we have already sketched in one of its aspects. Aside from its effects in embittering civil and religious strife in these colonies, this system has led to results in the land department, so mischievous, that, were it even possible to keep out of view all its other consequences already spoken of, it would still merit to be classed among the most potent inventions the wit of man could have devised for retarding the advancement of a colony. For every grant of land, said the Constitutional Act, made by the Crown, by sale or otherwise, a reserve shall be set off "equal in value to one seventh of the land so granted." The first idea obviously was, that all this land should be for ever held by the Crown for the church, or by the church for itself; and that its improvement and cultivation should take place, as in the old world, through the agency of tenants at will or under lease. As any man, however, who knew any thing of an unsettled country could have foreseen, these expected tenants were not found to be forthcoming. Some tracts of the reserves were leased, but only for a song ; and their holders did so little to improve them, that the prospect to the clergy for the second lease, was little better than for the first. But by far the greater part remained in its state of wilderness, producing not even so much as a nominal rent to the expectant clergy. Of late years, a system of sale and investment has been in operation, under an act of the Imperial Parliament ; but the process has been slow, and in many other respects open to objection. During all this period, in all parts of the two provinces, (except only the old French Canadian districts of Lower Canada,) these unreclaimed reserves have thus been kept back from settlement, interposed everywhere between the improved lands of the injured settlers.

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To give some idea of the nature and extent of this dead weight on the industry of the hardy pioneers of civilization. For some time it appears to have been the practice in Upper Canada, to specify a fraction of *each grant*, as clergy reserve; these grants being commonly made in lots of two hundred acres each, and one seventh (not one eighth) of each being reserved. After a time, however, it became customary to set off in all parts of the country, as fast as it was surveyed, a seventh part of these two hundred acre lots; and, in general, the reserved lots were separate from one another. In Lower Canada a system of very much the same character has prevailed, though with some aggravations. The whole extent of the reserves at the present time, exceeds three millions of acres, cut up into these fractional nuisances.

But this system, though bad, could be made worse; and those who were in charge of it were the men to make it as bad as it could be. Whether the original sin of the contrivance we are going to describe, rested with the Home authorities' ignorance, or with our local Bureaucrats' self-seeking short-sightedness, we cannot say; but we should incline to think the latter. It has all the look of being a device of a local oligarchy, dependent for the continuance of their profitable power on the future increase of those revenues of which they might have the disposal, in the name of the Crown, and without reference to the Assembly. The public lands were held to be Crown property, and their revenues were sacred from popular interference. By what means the local officials were all this time quietly killing, for their own behoof, a large proportion of the geese which were one day to lay these golden eggs, we shall soon see. There was a plan for keeping enough of the geese alive, to supply at some future day, the revenue not absolutely necessary to their purposes then. If the Home government *suggested* it, the crime it committed was nothing to the blunder. The men who saw and knew its consequences, who hoped future profit from them, and therefore entered into, defended, and maintained a system which *they* could easily have set aside, — these men, whether its first contrivers or not, are the men most to blame for it.

Besides the seventh part of every township reserved in lots for the clergy, as a plague to the poor laity, a second seventh was reserved in the same way, for the *future* dispo-

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sal of the Crown! Two lots out of every seven were thus kept for an indefinite time in wilderness, paying no tax, and yielding no revenue; but taxing the scanty population everywhere, with all the extra road-making &c., rendered necessary by this impoverishing separation of each settler from his neighbours. A luminous device, to make settlers loyal and religious, by putting Crown and clergy at every turn before their eyes, in the shape of uncleared woods and marshes, to plague and pauperize them.

Pass we to another feature of this land system. The administration of the public lands was vested by the Home government in a few local officers for each colony, and the oversight of these men committed to the Executive Council thereof; the Home government, retaining a mischievous right of interference in directing private grants, in addition to any that might be made by the Council, and a right (for many long years, of course, tolerably inoperative) of directing the Council's proceedings, and, if necessary, reversing any of them. We need not do more than remind our readers of the composition of this Council, to prepare them to imagine the general tenor of their proceedings in virtue of this power. A single example, of a multitude which press forward for citation, must suffice. It is the earliest in point of time, and the foundation-stone is a fair specimen of the building. The first instructions to the local executive of Lower Canada, on this subject, direct that, to avoid the evils of excessive grants, no settler should have more than two hundred acres granted him. To meet the special case of a settler with more than ordinary means for clearing land, the Governor was authorized at his discretion, to grant as much as one thousand more to any such person. Who would have supposed, that very nearly 1,500,000 acres would, under these instructions, have passed in a few years into the hands of a few officials and their friends, in quantities of from 10,000 to 50,000 acres each? Yet so it was; and the mode of accomplishing the trick was this. The influential claimant for such a grant would procure the required number of signatures, to a petition headed by his own name, praying the Governor and Council to grant each signer the two hundred or more acres that could legally be disposed of by them. Private bonds were at the same time entered into between the "leader" and his "associates" (as the parties were commonly called),

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stipulating for the immediate relinquishment by the latter of their mock grants, in favor of the former, for some consideration merely nominal. The grants were made with a full knowledge of this fact. Indeed, blank forms of the required bond, drawn up by no other hand than that of the provincial attorney-general of the day, were publicly sold by the law stationers in Quebec. It will readliy be understood, first, that all these grants were free grants, fees excepted; and, secondly, that hardly any of the land thus jobbed away, has been cleared in any degree by its grasping holders. The system produced the same kind of fruit everywhere.

In 1826, however, the Colonial Office interfered to check the abuses which had been growing up; and, in 1831, further and more efficient measures were taken to this end. A system of sale of lands by public auction was directed; but still under regulations not altogether judicious, and which left a good many opportunities for evasion to its administrators. Among Lord Durham's recommendations is one, which there appears no reason to doubt will be acted upon, for the complete reform of this whole department; but our limits do not allow us to continue our remarks on this subject to the extent which would be required, to explain its principles and efficiency.

Our readers can be at no loss to imagine the effect of this system of land jobbing and reserving, upon the roads in the new districts, or the effect of the want of roads on the settlement of the country. Here, again, the Home government is chargeable with the sins of omission, rather than of commission. It has spent large sums on colonial improvements, but it has not taken care to have them expended in the most economical and effective way. It has given the provincial authorities abundant legislative powers for them to have effected the construction of all the roads the country could need; but it failed so to balance those authorities in the first instance against each other, as to insure their discharge of that, or indeed of any other, public duty. One colonial party has jobbed in lands, so as to make roads in many districts almost impossible; the other has too often jobbed in roads, so as to throw yet further obstacles in the way of the improvement of the country.

We might apply the same remark to a variety of other topics, to the provision or want of provision for local mu-

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nicipal government; for example, for a rural magistracy, for the judiciary, and, more than all perhaps, for popular education. But our limits admonish us to pass to a subject, which cannot possibly be overlooked or even very hastily discussed, if we would convey to our readers any idea of the true features of the whole case before us.

The policy of the English Crown in guarantying their language and institutions to the descendants of the French Canadians whom it conquered, has already been noticed in its connexion with the history of the old colonies, now the United States. We have yet to glance at its effects within the present colonies of Great Britain; and first, for the real character of the laws and customs thus perpetuated, and the measures taken to perpetuate them.

The political system of the province was improved, beyond question, by the conquest. The complete military despotism of the French government was exchanged for a form of government, sufficiently arbitrary, it is true, but still neither military nor despotic. The introduction of the Habeas Corpus Act into the colony would have been an inestimable political boon, had it stood alone, which it did not. The first step taken by the British government was one, which, if it had been followed up in the spirit which appeared at first to dictate it, might have made the history of this continent read very differently from what it now does. In 1763, a Royal proclamation invited settlers to all parts of the newly acquired territory (comprising most of what is now British America), promising them for ever the enjoyment of laws "as near as may be conformable" to those of England. The French law was abrogated, and the courts were enjoined to proceed on the principles of the English. The Governor was empowered to convene a Representative Assembly; and it is a fact now not very generally known, that most of the elections to the proposed House actually took place accordingly. A difficulty as to the form of oath required for its Catholic members, alone, prevented it from meeting; and the project was then for the time laid aside, on a representation of the impolicy of such a step in a newly conquered country with a foreign population. The Thirteen Colonies of course enjoyed the advantages of this invitation and these pledges. In fact, their officers and men, who had served in the war, were offered grants of land in Canada, if disposed to settle there.

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But the disputes of the Crown with its old colonies soon led it to adopt the fatal policy of fostering all that was peculiarly French in its new subjects; and in 1774, the Act called the Quebec Act was passed, at its instance, by the Imperial Parliament. By this, the French civil law was restored to the province of Quebec, leaving the criminal law of England still in force; and the government was permanently vested in a Governor and Legislative Council named by the Crown. This state of things lasted through the war of Independence, and till the passage of the Act of 1791, which divided the Canadas and gave each province the constitution already described. The English law was now restored in its integrity to Upper Canada; but the French civil law was guarantied anew to Lower Canada, or rather to such parts of it as were held under the feudal tenure, — the system of land-granting in use under the French *régime*. The criminal law continued as before; and the whole body of English law, indeed, was, by implication, to prevail everywhere, beyond the seigniorial portions of the province. Besides so much of the French civil law as was thus renewed in its operation over a part of the country, it will be remembered, that, with slight modifications, the laws and usages relative to the Catholic Church, and its endowments, had been guarantied by the earliest acts of the British Crown within the province. Beyond the seigniorial districts, as there were then no French settlements, and consequently no Catholic parishes, these laws and usages were inoperative.

The assigned reason for this separation of the Canadas, was the desire of the British government of the day, to give each of the two populations, French and English, a province of its own; within which its own language and institutions should prevail, and where it should be left free to govern itself, and maintain or modify its laws, at its own pleasure. At the first glance, a project like this may seem statesmanlike enough; but a very little closer examination will suffice to show the contrary. The object aimed at was unattainable; and, had it not been so, its attainment would still have been on all accounts most undesirable. The means were as ill-chosen as the end; not simply because they had no tendency to produce a result at all like that which we have just declared impossible; but because the whole of the results which they had in fact an inevitable tendency to bring about, were mis-

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chievous to the last degree. They delayed the collision of the races for a time; only to make it longer and more severe when it should occur at last. They produced a state of things in the mean time, which was far worse for both parties than the collision itself, had it taken place at its natural time, would have been, for the short period during which it would in that case have lasted.

The policy of the United States, when they came into possession of Louisiana, was precisely the reverse of this. The statesmen who made the purchase of that territory, and had the ordering of its affairs immediately afterwards, well knew, that in an extensive country, where a popular government is to prevail, it is an object of the last importance to have for the whole a common language; and an object only second in importance to this, to have a general similarity in the laws, institutions, and usages throughout even its most remote districts. To give the command of the Mississippi, the outlet of the great Western valley, to a community which should keep itself apart in speech and laws from the other States, was an idea never entertained. The difficulty, which the presence of a French population presented, was at once met and overcome. The simple process of extending the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States over the new Territory, requiring that the language of the United States should be that of its constitution and public acts, and throwing open its rich lands for settlement on equal terms to all comers, was enough. Every thing else has followed. Louisiana has become a State, with every privilege and power any other State possesses. She is as heartily American as any; and, though the French language is not yet wholly superseded, no contest in regard to it, or effort to perpetuate it as a local language, is anywhere maintained. Her laws, though touched by no rude hand from without, have been thoroughly revised by herself; the anomalies which a concurrent action of French and American legislation had produced in abundance in the practice of her courts, have been effectually removed; and the code of Louisiana is a model which jurists of the old world have studied, and from which they have borrowed. The collision, in a word, was brought on at once, by the simplest and yet most efficacious means. There has been jealousy and heart-burning. But it has found vent within a narrow space, where it has done the smallest imaginable amount of

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harm. A little legislative bickering, never carried beyond the State; a harmless rivalry of municipalities, confined to the city of New Orleans; and, in a few years, it is all but over. — Great Britain, for her Canadian experiment, had the advantage of us, in point of time, by many years. Perhaps she had an advantage too, in the superior facilities which her form of government afforded her, for governing her Territory as she pleased, while her fusion of the races should be going on, and till they should be sufficiently one people, and her own people, to be safely intrusted with self-government. She was wise enough to throw away her time. How much has it cost? And how and at what cost can the time now be bought back again?

Was there any thing in the then position of the colony, to require that this course should be taken? At the conquest, the French Canadian population numbered about 70,000; in 1791, probably not 100,000. What could have been easier than to have done with them at the first the little that was done in Louisiana, and then to have let things take their course? The French Canadians are now 400,000 strong, perhaps more; and no step has been taken yet towards assimilating them to the overwhelming majority who speak the English tongue in all directions round them. To dam up a river, though, is not to stop its source, or to make the rush of its waters, after they shall have burst the dam, useful or safe. It might not have been altogether easy in 1774, for the government, which had then so embroiled the affairs of all the other colonies, to manage the experiment, had they been so minded. At each successive period the difficulty has been growing. And it has to be met at last.

Setting aside, however, the *principle* of sameness of language and a general similarity of institutions throughout a State; what were these laws and customs of French Lower Canada, that they should have been recalled from the tomb of the Capulets, to linger through a fifty years' semblance of renewed vitality? Of the many antiquated systems of law which the French revolution blessed the French nation by sweeping from its courts, there was one which had prevailed over a fraction of the country, and was in no way favorably distinguished, that we ever heard, from any other abrogated by the *Code Napoléon*. This was the "Coutume de Paris," a matter for an antiquary to amuse himself withal in

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France ; a law for advocates to study, and judges to decide by, in Lower Canada. It is a curious fact, in how many of the colonies of Great Britain, laws of foreign origin, which their authors have long since abrogated, are to this day retained, just as the *Coutume de Paris* is retained in Lower Canada. Her old gift of conquering her neighbours' colonies, has done strange service to the antiquary.

The "Custom of Paris," however, is not all that is peculiar to the Lower Canada courts. It was modified by edicts and ordinances of the French government, which never were of force beyond its limits ; and these are still the law of the land. The ordinances of successive English governors and their Councils come in again to affect this body of law. And last of all, the acts of the Provincial Parliament, and some special acts of the Imperial Parliament, contribute further to swell the confusion of principles, precedents, and rules, French, English, and Canadian, which pass current under the *sobriquet* of Civil law, in the Lower Province. The Criminal law is that of England in 1763, with a few changes made in it by ordinances and provincial acts. The great reforms, which England has of late years made in it at home, are of no avail for her colony, which "might, could, would, or should" have made them for herself, if she had wanted them.

We have a right to look upon the whole of this compound in its present state, as that which Mr. Pitt and his immediate predecessors entailed on Lower Canada, by the course they followed. Had they retained the whole French law of the colony, as the basis of its future code, —making in it at once a few necessary changes, so as to strip it of such features as were irreconcilable with English ideas of criminal procedure, — the result would at least have been a somewhat less confused chance-medley of conflicting principles. How could the criminal law of England harmonize with the real-estate, commercial, and other laws of a part of France ? *

* In illustration, we may just remark, that the "Coutume de Paris" gives the full force of a mortgage on a man's whole property, real and personal, to any written engagement he may make before a notary. The notary is the sole *Custodier* of all these papers. The French law had its penalties for abuse of the vast facilities this system gave for fraud. But the English law, knowing nothing of such a practice, is silent on this head. The two together, therefore, leave the Canadian notary to act in the premises as he pleases !

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Had the whole law of England been established, and the abrogation of the French code been made perpetual, the result would still in time have been a system of intelligible and practicable law. The transition would have been violent; and some rights of property would have suffered, while it was going on. But time would have effected it; and in time its vexations would have been forgotten. In either of these cases, the courts and future legislature of the country might easily have been so constituted, (by the exercise of an ordinary degree of foresight on the part of those who should create them,) as to have performed this work gradually, indeed, but still effectively. As the case stood, the country was placed in a position, in which it was morally impossible for it to remedy the embarrassments of that position. We do not mean to say, that the *mere* fact of two incongruous codes having been put into operation, side by side, prevented their fusion into one code applicable to the wants of the community. A general constitutional system, that should have worked well, might have overcome this difficulty; but we have seen to some extent, what that of 1791 was in this respect. The ordinances passed before 1791, had done very little to bring things into form. The laws enacted since have done, — we were on the point of saying, — *nothing*. The vision at any rate must be microscopic, that can see aught they have done, which would not have been much better left undone.

We profess not to be learned in these cherished "laws and customs" of Lower Canada; nor would we wish our readers so hard a fate as that of being forced to make themselves learned in them.* But we must not pass on without endeavouring to convey some faint idea of their necessary effect on all persons, matters, and things, subject to their sway. They are essentially anti-commercial; and yet the country where they prevail must be, to a great extent, commercial, not merely because a commercial people, of English and American origin, have gained a footing in it, but because, from its command of the St. Lawrence, the trade of a great part of the continent *must* pass through it, must keep that commercial race on its soil, and must give them wealth there, and influence, and, in the end, numbers; all laws and usages

* For some account of them, see *North American Review*, Vol. XXVII. pp. 1 *et seq.*

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of any uncommercial handful of men born there, to the contrary notwithstanding. Can a law, for example, which, along the whole course of the St. Lawrence, so far as it is directly open to the sea, would keep every acre of real estate subject to the payment of a heavy tax, on all improvement, to a seignior who does nothing to improve it, — can such a law, by any skill of man, be kept in force for ever? Yet there it is in force, in this thirty-ninth year of the nineteenth century. All land, held under the seigniorial tenure, is burdened with a yearly payment of a fixed irredeemable rental (*cens et rentes*), to the seignior, often light, but not unfrequently the reverse. Whenever it is sold, a twelfth part of the purchase money is due to this same seignior, in the shape of *lods et ventes*. Thus, if a man buy land for $1,000, and in a year or two improve or build upon it to the value of $20,000, it will cost him a twelfth part of that sum to dispose of what he has just spent so much to get. If he had made no improvements, he might have sold again for the twelfth part of his first $1,000, the cost at which his unimproving predecessor parted with it. Let an estate change hands often, and its whole value is soon gone, in successive twelfths to the do-nothing seignior. The seigniories extend all along both banks of the St. Lawrence, and for miles back on each side, till we get beyond Montreal, the head of all navigation from over sea; on both sides of the Richelieu almost to the province line, or outlet of Lake Champlain; and for some distance up most of the other considerable rivers of the province; in a word, everywhere, where trade and enterprise have the best field offered them by nature. There is a law in force (an act of the *British* Parliament by the way, and most vehemently complained against by the French Canadian Assembly) providing a means for getting rid of this tenure; but unluckily it put the cart before the horse, by requiring the seignior to move first in each case, and the said cart has stood remarkably still on the strength of it. There is an ordinance, too, just passed by the special Council, for the emancipation of the city and island of Montreal; but, from some of its provisions, it may be doubted, whether the procedure under it will not prove much too tedious for the exigencies of the case. What those exigencies are, may be readily inferred from the fact, that the city of Montreal, among the very oldest European settlements on the continent, and with natural advantages probably inferior

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to those of no other site in North America, New York and New Orleans hardly excepted, ranks with the third or fourth rate cities of the Union. By nature the seaport of a territory only less than the great valley of the Mississippi, having water-power easily available, — and enough to cover her island with the mills and factories it might keep at work, — with a denser rural population round her, than surrounds any other city on the continent for the same distance, and with no serious natural difficulty in the way of the extension of her trade in any direction whatever, — this city has a population of little more than thirty thousand souls, and the whole island on which it stands, thirty-two miles long and ten broad at its widest part, city and country together, numbers only about fifty thousand !

Does any one need further witness to convince him, that a result so striking is to be traced to so obvious a cause ? The French Canadian law has evidence enough in store for the most incredulous. What if it be harder still to borrow on the security of seigniorial land, than it is to sell it to advantage ! An acknowledgment of debt passed before a notary becomes, as we have observed, a binding mortgage on all a man's real estate ; and, of course therefore, most creditors take good care to have one. These mortgages are not merely general, but secret. The notary keeps the originals, and, as there is no office of registry where copies are to be filed, it is impossible to tell how many different notaries may hold the same man's mortgages. On the death of a notary, his papers of this kind are deposited in a public office, and may be seen by parties interested ; but, during life, the notary acts under an oath of secrecy. An intending purchaser can thus, in no way, guess the incumbrances on the estate in treaty, except from the representations and supposed character of the vendor. How little these will serve his turn, may be inferred, when we add, that it is not merely the incumbrances *the present holder* may have brought upon the land, that are in question. Any uncancelled "*acte*" of any former holder will serve as well as one of yesterday. Such bonds are often held back for years, so long as a poor man, who cannot satisfy them, may continue in possession, and if, for any cause, a seizure and forced sale be thought inexpedient. The moment a new holder, who can pay, steps in, he is greeted with them, however, to a certainty. Arrears, too, of seigniorial dues, are held to be secured as by a mort-

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gage. By a sham seizure and sheriff's sale, these claims may be brought out before purchase, or, if not brought out, cancelled; and this course, therefore, though both costly and tedious, is the one in common use. But even this does not bar *all* claims. There are contingent rights acquired (under a labyrinth of laws about dower and inheritance) by the widows, children, and children's children of all who have ever held real estate; the claims growing out of which neither sheriff's sale nor time extinguishes. How is a man to buy, sell, lend, or borrow, with mill-stone laws like these about his neck? Prices, credit, trade, — what meaning can the words have, where such a code furnishes the glossary?

The American reader, not conversant with the subject, may think that a representation like this must be overcharged. The Anglo-Canadian will feel and know, that it is the reverse. We have given an outline sketch of a part only of the picture. Could we add half the minor touches, which should go to a sketch of this part of the system as it exists in Lower Canada, and then proceed to show, how the other parts of the system all tend to make one another more intolerable, the representation would be rendered as much more faithful as it would become more startling.

We have spoken of the perpetuation of the French language, and the laws and usages co-existent with it, in Lower Canada, as a thing impossible; and have said, that, if possible, the attempt to bring it about, would still have been, as it was, most unwise. Enough has surely been said, to establish both these positions. It remains, that we offer a remark or two on the measures taken with this design, and show, that they too were all that we have called them. It will not require much argument to do this. Whether we look to their inevitable tendencies, as regards the proposed English province of Upper Canada, or as it regards the English race in Lower Canada, or, finally, as regards the French themselves, we shall see them still in the same light, — ill-chosen means to an ill-chosen end.

How then was it, that the authors of the Constitutional Act, intending to separate the two populations for ever, and give each its own province, where it might be unmolested by the other, divided the country as they did between them? From the St. Lawrence towards the Ottawa, the division line sets out along the southwestern boundary of the highest of the

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French seigniorial grants ; and this reason alone was looked to in selecting it. It was forgotten, that the navigation of the St. Lawrence was broken by a rapid, just above Montreal ; so that this arrangement, by giving that city to the Lower Province, left no seaport to the Upper. To be sure, if the island of Montreal had been given to Upper Canada, there would have been an end put, in another way, to the project of dividing the races and their systems ; for this island and city of Montreal formed a seigniory, inhabited chiefly by French Canadians, and the property of a Catholic ecclesiastical community.

But, to show the weight of this objection to the line of demarkation selected. The two provinces had but one natural outlet to the ocean, and that their only direct channel of communication with the parent state. Had they both enjoyed equal access to this common outlet, the mischief would have been less ; but, as it was, one of them had it all to herself. All goods imported for either province must be landed in the Lower. The duties must be paid there. But Upper Canada paid part of these duties, and had a right therefore to part of the revenue. To how much, then ? Could the two colonies, one French and the other English, one collecting the whole revenue, and the other claiming part of it, the one which had the seaports uncommercial in its habits and laws, and that which was cut off from the sea commercial and maritime, — could these fail to quarrel ? But, besides the embarrassments of *a revenue in common*, they had those of *a task in common* too. The navigation of the St. Lawrence is impeded in both Provinces ; to a considerable degree, indeed, even below Montreal. Upper Canada must have water communication with the nearest seaport, and she must be anxious, that that seaport should have the best communication possible with the distant sea. But let her expend her money as she might, on canals *towards* Montreal, Lower Canada must finish them, or they would be worth nothing ; and below Montreal, Lower Canada still must be the party to improve, or no improvement could be had. These two matters of dispute, accordingly, have been in agitation from the first. The Imperial Parliament has been forced to try its hand at the adjustment of the quarrel about revenue ; but the award naturally made both parties more angry than ever. The improvement feud was

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left to take its course; and unprofitable it has been to both the parties to it.

But the English in Lower Canada! If their countrymen in the Upper Province had reason to complain, how much more had they? They were not numerous in 1791; but their first settlement had been on the faith of a promise of English laws. Besides, their presence in the colony, and their comparatively rapid increase in wealth and numbers, were, from the nature of the case, unavoidable. Quebec and Montreal must have merchants, if only for the trade of Upper Canada; and these merchants, as a class, must be English, for the French were not and would not be merchants, either to the extent or in the mode required. On the north bank of the Ottawa, too, was the chief supply of timber for the trade with Great Britain; and the English merchants must have their full supply of it. These lands, too, had not been granted in seigniories to any distance up the river, and the English Crown now granted land in free and common soccage only. The French Canadians would not settle there, as it was beyond the bounds within which their laws were confined; and thus an English population extending up the Ottawa must have part in Lower Canada. In fact, for this latter reason (which everywhere made the French keep near their old settlements), a population of the other race was sure to settle more or less rapidly in several other directions, on the extensive tracts in the rear of them. A great part of this population was equally sure to be of American origin. The townships* first surveyed, were along the frontier of the United States; and these soon began to be settled from the southward. At a later period the tide set in from Ireland and Great Britain. It was just as certain, moreover, that the race speaking the English tongue must be, for a long series of years, a small minority under the system set in operation, as it was that it must all the while be present in the colony. How then was this race to fare, with the French law we have been describing in force over all the French part of the country, the validity of the English law, for many long years, called in question, as regarded the remainder, and an overwhelming French majority

* The land, granted in free and common soccage, was set off in "townships" of some one hundred square miles each. The division was purely territorial; and not, as in this country, the basis of a municipal system.

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to maintain their own laws, without change, in their own territory, and to struggle for their extension over the whole province, simply *because* they were the laws, of all others, fitted to keep it, the said rival race, out or under?

And the French, — with Upper Canada thus hostile from without, and this English minority (steadily advancing in numbers and wealth, as compared with themselves,) hostile within, to all which they were indulged with the seeming power of perpetuating, — what were they to do? Their province set off on purpose to give them this power, were they not sure to make the attempt to exercise it? If so, was not this, again, sure to embitter the hostile rivalry of the races, in a sort of geometrical progression; till at length all other questions, — of Bureaucrat or Liberal, — of reform in law or government, — of local improvement, taxes, expenditure, land-granting, or aught else, — should be fairly lost sight of in the *melée*, and be merged in the one war of race and language?

From this hasty review of the chief causes which have been at work to produce confusion in the British American colonies, we pass to speak in few words of their results. And here our notice must be more hasty still. The facts are too many to be cited one by one; or the proof could be made clear to moral demonstration, that all we have been saying of the tendencies of the system, may be truly said of its results. We have not the space even to present a full summary of those results, as they differ in different colonies. A remark or two on the state of parties in each, is all we can venture upon.

In Newfoundland, then, the controversy is, in the main, that of a popular party against a Bureaucracy; though this is certainly not its sole feature. The great bulk of the community is Catholic; most of the officials, Protestants and of the High-Church School. The religious element accordingly enters largely into the feelings of each party. In general, the merchants residing near the seat of government, side with the administration against the House. The constitution has been but a short time in being; and the struggle under it is at its height. The Colonial Office, however, has made a number of concessions to the assailants of the local government.

In Prince Edward's Island, the all-absorbing question grows out of the ownership of the soil; the resident population en-

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deavouring to tax the non-resident owners of the greater part of the island, that it may compel them to improve or sell the land, which they are at present holding in waste to the great detriment of the colony. The owners being mostly men of wealth and influence in England, and the colony small, the former have been able till of late to make their representations pass current at the Colonial Office. An arrangement, however, as to the sale and taxation of these lands, is now in progress, — we believe, indeed, completed, — by which the question will be satisfactorily settled as regards the colonists. The Bureaucratic quarrel has never risen to any height in this little island.

Nova Scotia has been the scene of a long and tolerably warm dispute between the official and popular bodies. In strength the two for a time were nearly equal; the Bureaucratic party at the outset having in some respects more than the usual quantum of local influence. Though the party hostile to it are a majority in the House, the minority siding with the officials is still respectable in numbers. The urgent representations of the House have gained for its party some most decided advantages; and, though changes are not yet made to the extent demanded, it is clear, that, if the popular party can maintain its hold on the Assembly, every thing will shortly follow that it requires. The question of high-church has been already spoken of, as respects this colony. It has had more influence here, perhaps, than in New Brunswick.

The adjoining province of New Brunswick was some years ago very violently agitated by the Bureaucratic dispute; but the complete triumph of the popular party has for some time made the state of things quite different. The leaders of the majority in the House now act in harmony with the Councils, in consequence of the changes made in the composition of the latter. In Nova Scotia, these changes did not go far enough to produce this result, and the Councils are not at one with the House, though their disputes are now far from violent.

Indeed, as a general remark, we may observe, that in these three provinces there has never been a manifestation made by any party, however small, of the feeling of *disaffection*, as contrasted with that of temporary *dissatisfaction*. The present lieutenant-governors are all esteemed; and those of

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New Brunswick and Prince Edward's Island are decidedly popular, and have every prospect of continuing to be so. Even in Newfoundland, the most violent of the opposition strongly disclaim every thing like disaffection to the mother country.

Of the six provinces, Lower Canada is in every respect in the worst position. Her Bureaucracy were at first naturally of English origin; the conquered French population being then of necessity excluded generally from office. For years, however, the national element of the dispute remained in the shade, though the office-holders were still mostly of the origin of the minority, and their conduct in office was any thing but unobjectionable. The French majority were not the material for displaying political activity; and their representatives, therefore, though from the earliest period rejecting all demands for change urged by the English minority, were not for a long time found arrayed in active hostility to those individuals of that minority, who stood before as "*de par le Roy.*" When the transition to active hostility took place, the more efficient popular *leaders* were generally English,* who acted with the French against the officials, and hoped to induce the French to abandon their inert opposition to all improvement, so soon as the incubus of the Bureau should have been thrown off. A great portion of the English took the same side with the same view. Others leaned to the officials, from an opposite impression. In process of time, however, as the officials lost ground, these English allies of the majority party became disgusted at the unequivocal manifestations which were made, of a determination on the part of those French leaders, who always carried the great body of their countrymen with them, to adhere to the cherished project of French *nationalité;* and the English leaders, one by one, fell off from the side of the Assembly. The official party, now weakened and in fear for their craft, sought to throw themselves into a semi-alliance with the English minority; and thus the dispute gradually changed its real character, while in form, and professed objects, it remained much the same as ever. Not aware of the true nature of the contest, the English Liberal government sought, by yielding, in sub-

* Under this term we include here (and elsewhere in speaking of Lower Canada) *all* who use the English tongue; Americans, Scotch, and Irish, and their descendants born in Canada.

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stance, every claim urged by the French party, as a popular demand against a Bureau oligarchy, — to stay the controversy. But this was oil, not water, to the flame. The French were only emboldened; the English only exasperated. The former, throwing off the mask, daily more and more, put forward demands that could not have been granted, without the consequence of driving the latter to absolute desperation. Revolt, indeed, began to be threatened, by many of the English, as inevitable, on their part, if such demands were granted. The government, as it could not but do, refused to yield further. The French leaders openly declared revolution to be their object. Suspicious alike of the Bureaucracy, the Home government, and the French, the English generally held back for a time, as though doubtful what course to take, in a dilemma so perplexing. After a time, the instinct of self-defence forced from them an uncertain note of preparation, as against the *soi-disant* revolutionists of the other origin. And in November, 1837, when the arrest of a few of the French leaders threw the party into insurrection, a few weeks sooner than the time at which they had proclaimed their determination to resort to it, the whole English population was in arms on the instant for its suppression. The consequences are well known.

Lord Durham's Report goes at great length into the subject of this war of races, and shows most conclusively, by a variety of considerations, that the grand features of the case are as we have just stated them. That a few English names should be found on the revolutionist side, proves nothing against it. The names so found, are none of them names of the rank and file. The *community*, speaking the English tongue, suppressed (or by their support enabled the government promptly to suppress) the insurrection. It stands aloof from the officials still; and from the Home government too; — from the former, as much as ever; from the latter, with a little less of distrust, now that the French and it are openly at variance. With all this, however, the attachments of English, Scotch, and Irish, almost without exception, are, to all appearance, as warm as ever to their country and the connexion with Great Britain. The coolness of their feeling towards the government is purely a result of the French struggle, and the recollections and suspicions it keeps alive. The French and their feelings, it is not so easy to describe

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in few words. As the English are united in nothing but hostility to what is French, so are the *leading* men of the French in nothing but hostility to what is English. There is, however, this marked contrast between the two. Of the former, nearly all take sides and express opinions of their own, and hence arise differences of sentiment, which extend to all classes; among the latter, it is the few, only, who attempt this, and the great body simply follow the lead of those from among that few, who are most French Canadian and anti-Anglican. Those of the few who are more moderate, are without followers. The character and position of the race, however, we cannot here describe, further than we have already done incidentally. The subject requires much more space than we can here give, to explain it fully.

The contest, in Upper Canada, has been of a less equivocal character, than in Lower; although, here, too, (as Lord Durham's Report conclusively shows,) there has been a strong under-current of semi-national controversy. The tide of immigration has been strong from the old world; and the feelings of the old and new residents of the province have been, on several accounts, the reverse of cordial. Besides this circumstance, which has divided the population of Upper Canada everywhere, the form and size of the province are such, as to cut it up into a number of separate localities, each with its own little centre of party feeling and opinion. This, again, has tended to divide the party which might else have acted in concert against the dominant faction. The Clergy reserve question has embroiled matters, and divided parties further. And, lastly, the extent of the country, by the facilities it has given the Bureaucracy, for the multiplication of offices of petty trust, profit, or distinction, in all quarters, and for land and other jobbing in general, has still added fresh strength to that faction. The same causes have thrown more than ordinary temptations in the way of the Assembly; and it cannot be denied, that it has often yielded to them. The consequence has been, that, for a length of time, the rival parties have had alternate sway in the Assembly; one election going for the one, and the next, almost always, for the other. The struggle was thus necessarily longer, and, in its effects on the legislation and general welfare of the province, as well as on the temper of all the parties to it, far more mischievous, than in any other province, Lower Canada excepted.

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When Sir Francis Head came out, in 1835, as Lieutenant-Governor, the popular party were in the ascendant. Sir John Colborne had just been recalled, on their representations; and his successor came with instructions to concede almost every thing they had asked. These instructions were made public, and gave satisfaction to most of the reform party. The Executive Council was remodelled, as an earnest of their approaching fulfilment. But Sir Francis quickly got himself into trouble with his new Council, by performing important acts, not only without its knowledge, but against the known principles of its new members. The Council complained, and demanded to be consulted on the whole business of the administration, or not at all. They were dismissed, and Sir Francis appointed a new Council. The Assembly took part with the dismissed Councillors, and stopped the supplies. The Governor dissolved the House; the chances of a general election were tried; and the result was the return of a great majority of members hostile to the party lately in the ascendant. A numerous body had seceded from its ranks, some convinced from the tenor of Sir Francis's instructions, that, if allowed his own course, he would, in the end, do all that the province really needed, and others alarmed at what they thought the precipitancy of a portion of their old associates. Sir Francis, too, had entered the lists openly as a partisan. His liberal instructions had been appealed to, and the designs of the majority in the late Assembly declared revolutionary. The candidates in opposition to them, stood forward on the hustings in the garb of *Constitutional* Reformers, as opposed to *Revolutionists*. The real cause of the quarrel (the question of a responsible Executive Council, an old demand of the popular party,) was thus almost wholly overlooked; and the result, a great many at the time imagined to be a defeat of a grand revolutionary project.

But the "sheep's clothing" was not slow to fall off. The new House, with the old Legislative Council, took ground against the "instructions," under cover of which they had just conquered; and Sir Francis, intoxicated with the notion of his having gained a "mighty moral triumph," and surrounded by a Council too well pleased with the gifts of office to be troublesome under their dispensation, became, from that day to the day he left the province, the devoted partisan

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and servant of the old official party. The Colonial Office held back and showed displeasure ; but the Toronto officials knew their advantage and their man, and kept the field with exemplary pertinacity. At length, however, Downing Street patience was worn out, and Sir Francis was recalled, or, which amounted to the same thing, obliged to leave his post. The demonstration was not quite in time. His rashness had enticed a fraction of the *ci-devant* reform party into insurrection, and had done all that the folly of one man could do, towards securing the insurgents the sympathies of all parties in this country, and the boon of a foreign war besides, to give effect to them.

The insurrection in Upper Canada has had the fate of being magnified into an importance most extravagantly out of proportion to its real insignificance. Its defeated leaders, of course, magnified it in this country ; the party, of old their bitter enemies in the province, have done the same thing there ; the former to gain sympathy among our citizens ; the latter to throw popular odium upon the *whole* body of those who have been active as their opponents, in the province, by representing them as extensively implicated in a rebellion. The truth is, that the Head election, and its immediate consequences, for a time disorganized the old reform party. The men who had left them on the occasion of the former, did not at once return on account of the latter. A large body, too, of those who had fought hard for the party at the elections, held aloof from politics in angry mortification, from the time their results were made known. And thus the least reflecting and judicious, with a good many others, the more unprincipled of the party, were left to the very indifferent guidance they could give each other ; with a Governor almost as little gifted in any of these respects as themselves, to guide, or make believe guide, the whole.

The prospects of the general election, now on the eve of taking place, may readily be inferred. The Durham Report, recommending all that the more temperate reformers ever called for, — the bitter disappointment of the Head experiment of abandoning those claims, — in a word, we might say, the *history* of the last four years, — cannot be without effect. Nor does it appear, from present indications, that they will be. All seems to promise a reappearance of the liberal party on the field, in stronger force and under better auspices than

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at any former time. But we are digressing from the line of remark we had laid down to ourselves.

Of Lord Durham's administration in the Canadas, and its abrupt termination, we do not propose at this time to speak. It is not a subject to be dismissed with a slight notice, if taken up at all. We could not have stated the case (as between the ex-governor-general, the British ministry, and his and their political antagonists) so as to present any thing like an adequate view of its true merits to our readers, without having first given them at least as much preliminary information as we have just been giving. And it would occupy us at least as much more space as that which we have already occupied, to do so now.

His Lordship's recommendations for the future government of British America must meet universal approval, wherever they are known, among our people. In the provinces, cut up as parties are by causes of dispute of all kinds, a like unanimity cannot be expected yet, in regard to them. But they must, ere long, combine in their support all lovers of good, popular, and stable government, there also. The signs are not inauspicious in this respect.

To remedy the evils growing out of the national feud in Lower Canada, his Lordship recommends, that that colony be at once merged in a new and more extensive province, so as to throw the French race into a minority; securing them, at the same time, from every thing like oppression at the hands of the new majority. He would give them their full weight in the representative body; would unite them, not merely with Upper Canada, but, as soon as possible, with the Lower Provinces too, where no feeling of hostility to them can be said to prevail; and by committing to every locality the utmost extent of power, for local government, that can safely be delegated to it, would, in fact, place *their own concerns*, after all, in their own hands, taking from them only the unreal mockery of a power to direct those of the other race. Easier terms than these, they cannot hope for from any party whatever, and have no right to ask. Harder, there is no good reason for any party's wishing to impose.

This general union of British America, with the proposed subdivision of the country, by Imperial legislation, into convenient Municipal Districts, is a scheme which, as its author proposes to carry it into effect, promises the most essential

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improvements of every kind. It would break up the little oligarchies of each province, would sweep away the thousand petty causes of feud which their influence has fostered or occasioned, would give a new and sufficient field for the full developement of the energies of the whole people, in the future government and improvement of their newly *created* country, and would hold out a reasonable prospect of their future avoidance of those errors, which have till now so fatally contributed to impede their prosperity.

To this new province, Lord Durham would give, in substance, an entirely new constitution. The Legislative Council he would reform, by placing such restrictions on the power of appointing to it, &c., as should be most likely to insure the respect of the province at large for its opinions. And the Executive Council he would so remodel, as to have it consist of Heads of Departments, responsible to the Provincial Parliament; precisely as an English ministry is, — except, that, on matters not purely provincial, they would, of course, not be competent to decide and act, without reference to the Imperial Parliament and ministry. The Governor would thus become, in fact as well as in name, the representative of the Crown. The internal affairs of the province, he would be required to administer, through a Cabinet commanding the confidence of its people and their representatives. Imperial interference would be limited to that comparatively small number of cases, in which an interest, strictly Imperial, might be at stake. It is to this, more than to any other measure Great Britain can adopt, that she is destined to be indebted, if at all, for the lasting preservation of her Colonial Empire. It is the *sine quâ non* of colonial prosperity, content, and consequent adherence to her fortunes.

Lord Durham's proposed reforms extend to a variety of other subjects, indeed to all, which an Imperial enactment could possibly affect. Much must be left to the future action of the province itself; and it is, as we have observed, the grand feature of the Report, that it insists on the unreserved grant to the province, of the power of hereafter acting (with the *prospect* of being able to act wisely) for itself.

We would it were in our power to say, that the measures proposed by the British government are identical with these recommended measures. They savour of weakness, — weakness of two kinds; the one growing out of the state of

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parties in England, the other out of that inherent defect in the constitution of the colonial office, to which we have so often adverted. Between the fear of the Tories at home, and the back-stairs influence of the oligarchists in the colonies, the best features of the Durham Report have no place in the ministerial plan. The union the government proposes, is a mere union of the Canadas; and the measure of measures, the direct establishment of responsible government, is to be sought in it in vain. These are omissions, for which nothing else can make amends. Minor reforms are well enough in their way; but they are not enough here. The new wine cannot be kept in the old bottles.

But this, too, is a subject we must dismiss, without venturing to enter on questions involving so much discussion. One remark, and we have done. The ministerial measure, it must be remembered, is a mere suggestion. The same weakness, which has made it defective, has prevented the government from attempting to force it through Parliament. The colonies are consulted. Let us hope, that their voice will be expressed so unequivocally, as to lead to its effectual amendment. If *the people* of the interested colonies fail to make their voice heard, in such a cause, we can only say, they deserve the consequences, be they what they may.

In a case thus abounding with difficulties and embarrassments, and pending the discussion by those most interested, of what so deeply interests them, what course should those pursue, who have no other interest in the affair, than their own feelings of good-will to their neighbours oblige them to take? Had they better leave the case for those who *must*, to their own cost, be troubled with it, to decide? Or had they better, by uncalled-for interference, embroil their affairs tenfold worse than ever? Would charity, because it sees the ship in danger, and needing all the best and coolest efforts of her crew, fire into her shells and rockets, to distract those efforts, and insure, so far as in them lies, the triumph of those elements of danger by which she is surrounded?

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ART. VI. — *The History of the Navy of the United States of America.* By J. FENIMORE COOPER. In Two Volumes. 8vo. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1839.

MR. COOPER has made a valuable addition to the history of the country, in the work before us. He appears to have used a commendable diligence in searching out whatever facts our early history affords, illustrative of the origin and growth of the national navy, and has dressed them out in a form as attractive, perhaps, as the unconnected nature of the events, and the meagreness of the annals from which he derived his materials, permitted.

With the exception of a few irregular exploits, and the more remarkable engagement of Paul Jones, in the Bon Homme Richard, in the revolutionary war, together with the capture of the Insurgent, by Commodore Truxton, in the Constellation, during our naval hostilities with France, in 1799, but few incidents occurred at those periods, of sufficient importance to come down to us with much minuteness of detail. These are all narrated by Mr. Cooper with sufficient clearness and vivacity. Our navy, both as it regards its ships and officers, can scarcely be said to have had a connected existence, from its first creation, during the revolutionary contest, until the commencement of the war against Tripoli. On the breaking out of that war, it was put on a more permanent and respectable footing, than it had hitherto obtained; and, in the course of it, the foundation of that character, which it formed for itself in the late war with England, was laid in the brilliant actions of Preble, Decatur, and Somers. Most of the officers, who became distinguished during the last war, commenced their career at Tripoli, and received their early professional impressions in a school, which has conferred the deepest obligations on the Navy, and on the country. The burning of the frigate Philadelphia, during this war, may, indeed, be justly rated among the most brilliant achievements of the navy. It is described by Mr. Cooper in his best style, and we very reluctantly forego the pleasure of transferring it to our pages. We also intended, had our limits allowed, to extract his account of one of Commodore Preble's attacks on the gunboats and batteries of Tripoli, in August, 1804; a sketch which conveys a very lively idea of the desperate courage

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evinced by the officers of our young navy throughout the whole of that struggle.

In approaching nearer our own times, the incidents of the late war with England, for the naval history of which more abundant materials exist, are narrated with greater detail. Among the earliest events recorded by our author, is the escape of the Constitution, under Commodore Isaac Hull, from a fleet of British ships, in July, 1812. The story itself, and the style of its narrator, are both so spirited, that we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of laying it before our readers.

"As the day opened, three sail were discovered on the starboard quarter of the Constitution, and three more astern. This was the squadron of Commodore Broke, which had been gradually closing with the American frigate during the night, and was now just out of gunshot. As the ships slowly varied their positions, when the mists were entirely cleared away, the Constitution had two frigates on her lee quarter, and a ship of the line, two frigates, a brig, and a schooner astern. All the strangers had English colors flying.

"It now fell quite calm, and the Constitution hoisted out her boats, and sent them ahead to tow, with a view to keep the ship out of the reach of the enemy's shot. At the same time, she whipt up one of the main deck guns to the spar deck, and run it out aft, as a stern chaser, getting a long eighteen off the forecastle, also, for a similar purpose. Two more of the twenty-fours below were run out of the cabin windows, with the same object, though it was found necessary to cut away some of the wood-work of the stern frame, in order to make room.

"By six o'clock, the wind, which continued very light and baffling, came out from the northward of west, when the ship's head was got round to the southward, and all the light canvass, that would draw, was set. Soon after, the nearest frigate, the Shannon, opened with her bow guns, and continued firing for about ten minutes, but, perceiving she could not reach the Constitution, she ceased. At half past six, Captain Hull sounded in twenty-six fathoms, when, finding that the enemy was likely to close, as he was enabled to put the boats of two ships on one, and was also favored by a little more air than the Constitution, all the spare rope that could be found, and which was fit for the purpose, was payed down into the cutters, bent on, and a kedge was run out, near half a mile ahead, and let go. At a signal given, the crew clapped on, and walked away with the ship, overrunning and tripping the kedge, as she came up with the end of the line. While this was doing, fresh lines and another

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kedge were carried ahead, and in this manner, though out of sight of land, the frigate had glided away from her pursuers, before they discovered the manner in which it was done. It was not long, however, before the enemy resorted to the same expedient. At half past seven, the Constitution had a little air, when she set her ensign, and fired a shot at the Shannon, the nearest ship astern. At eight, it fell calm again, and further recourse was had to the boats and the kedges, the enemy's vessels having a light air, and drawing ahead, towing, sweeping, and kedging. By nine, the nearest frigate, the Shannon, on which the English had put most of their boats, was closing fast, and there was every prospect, notwithstanding the steadiness and activity of the Constitution's people, that the frigate just mentioned, would get near enough to cripple her, when her capture by the rest of the squadron would be inevitable. At this trying moment, the best spirit prevailed in the ship. Everything was stoppered, and Captain Hull was not without hopes, even should he be forced into action, of throwing the Shannon astern by his fire, and of maintaining his distance from the other vessels. It was known that the enemy could not tow very near, as it would have been easy to sink his boats with the stern guns of the Constitution, and not a man in the latter vessel showed a disposition to despondency. Officers and men relieved each other regularly at the duty, and, while the former threw themselves down on deck to catch short naps, the people slept at their guns.

"This was one of the most critical moments of the chase. The Shannon was fast closing, as has been just stated, while the Guerriere was about as near on the larboard quarter. An hour promised to bring the struggle to an issue, when, suddenly, at nine minutes past nine, a light air from the southward struck the ship, bringing her to windward. The beautiful manner in which this advantage was improved, excited admiration, even in the enemy. As the breeze was seen coming, the ship's sails were trimmed, and, as soon as she was under command, she was brought close up to the wind, on the larboard tack; the boats were all dropped in alongside; those that belonged to the davits were run up, while the others were just lifted clear of the water, by purchases on the spare spars, stowed outboard, where they were in readiness to be used again at a moment's notice. As the ship came by the wind, she brought the Guerriere nearly on her lee beam, when that frigate opened a fire from her broadside. While the shot of this vessel were just falling short of them, the people of the Constitution were hoisting up their boats, with as much steadiness as if the duty was performing in a friendly port. In about

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an hour, however, it fell nearly calm again, when Captain Hull ordered a quantity of the water started, to lighten the ship. More than two thousand gallons were pumped out, and the boats were sent ahead again to tow. The enemy now put nearly all his boats on the Shannon, the nearest ship astern; and a few hours of prodigious exertion followed, the people of the Constitution being compelled to supply the place of numbers by their activity and zeal. The ships were close by the wind, and every thing that would draw was set, and the Shannon was slowly, but steadily, forging ahead. About noon, of this day, there was a little relaxation from labor, owing to the occasional occurrence of cat's paws, by watching which closely, the ship was urged through the water. But, at a quarter past twelve, the boats were again sent ahead, and the toilsome work of towing and kedging was renewed.

"At one o'clock, a strange sail was discovered, nearly to leeward. At this moment, the four frigates of the enemy were about one point on the lee quarter of the Constitution, at long gunshot, the Africa, and the two prizes, being on the lee beam. As the wind was constantly baffling, any moment might have brought a change, and placed the enemy to windward. At seven minutes before two, the Belvidere, then the nearest ship, began to fire with her bow guns, and the Constitution opened with her stern chasers. On board the latter ship, however, it was soon found to be dangerous to use the main deck guns, the transoms having so much rake, the windows being so high, and the guns so short, that every explosion lifted the upper deck, and threatened to blow out the stern frame. Perceiving, moreover, that his shot did little or no execution, Captain Hull ordered the firing to cease at half past two.

"For several hours, the enemies' frigates were now within gunshot, sometimes towing and kedging, and at others endeavouring to close with the puffs of air that occasionally passed. At seven in the evening, the boats of the Constitution were again ahead, the ship steering southwest half west, with an air so light as to be almost imperceptible. At half past seven she sounded in twenty-four fathoms. For four hours, the same toilsome duties were going on, until a little before eleven, when a light air from the southward struck the ship, and the sails, for the first time in many weary hours, were asleep. The boats instantly dropped along side, hooked on, and were all run up, with the exception of the first cutter. The top-gallant studding-sails and stay-sails were set as soon as possible, and, for about an hour, the people caught a little rest.

"But at midnight it fell nearly calm again, though neither

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the pursuers nor the pursued had recourse to the boats, probably from an unwillingness to disturb their crews. At two, A. M., it was observed, on board the Constitution, that the Guerriere had forged ahead, and was again off their lee beam. At this time the top-gallant studding-sails were taken in.

"In this manner passed the night, and on the morning of the next day it was found, that three of the enemy's frigates were within long gunshot on the lee quarter, and the other at about the same distance on the lee beam. The Africa and the prizes were much further to leeward.

"A little after daylight, the Guerriere, having drawn ahead sufficiently to be forward of the Constitution's beam, tacked, when the latter ship did the same, in order to preserve her position to windward. An hour later the Æolus passed on the contrary tack so near, that it was thought by some, who observed the movement, that she ought to have opened her fire; but, as that vessel was merely a twelve pounder frigate, and she was still at a considerable distance, it is quite probable her commander acted judiciously. By this time, there was sufficient wind to induce Captain Hull to hoist in his first cutter.

"The scene, on the morning of this day, was very beautiful, and of great interest to the lovers of nautical exhibitions. The weather was mild and lovely, the sea smooth as a pond, and there was quite wind enough to remove the necessity of any of the extraordinary means of getting ahead, that had been so freely used during the previous eight-and-forty hours. All the English vessels had got on the same tack with the Constitution again, and the five frigates wore clouds of canvass from their trucks to the water. Including the American ship, eleven sail were in sight, and, shortly after, a twelfth appeared to windward, that was soon ascertained to be an American merchantmen. But the enemy were too intent on the Constitution, to regard any thing else, and, though it would have been easy to capture the ships to leeward, no attention appears to have been paid to them. With a view, however, to deceive the ship to windward, they hoisted American colors, when the Constitution set an English ensign, by way of warning the stranger to keep aloof."

"At meridian the wind began to blow a pleasant breeze, and the sound of the water, rippling under the bows of the vessel, was again heard. From this moment the noble old ship slowly drew ahead of all her pursuers, the sails being watched and tended in the best manner that consummate seamanship could dictate, until four, P. M., when the Belvidere was more than four miles astern, and the other vessels were thrown

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behind in the same proportion, though the wind had again got to be very light.

"In this manner both parties kept pressing ahead and to windward, as fast as circumstances would allow, profiting by every change, and resorting to all the means of forcing vessels through the water, that are known to seamen. At a little before seven, however, there was every appearance of a heavy squall, accompanied by rain; when the Constitution prepared to meet it with the coolness and discretion she had displayed throughout the whole affair. The people were stationed, and every thing was kept fast to the last moment, when, just before the squall struck the ship, the order was given to clew up and clew down. All the light canvass was furled, a second reef was taken in the mizen topsail, and the ship was brought under short sail, in an incredibly little time. The English vessels, observing this, began to let go and haul down without waiting for the wind, and, when they were shut in by the rain, they were steering in different directions to avoid the force of the expected squall. The Constitution, on the other hand, no sooner got its weight, than she sheeted home and hoisted her fore and main top-gallant sails, and while the enemy most probably believed her to be borne down by the pressure of the wind, steering free, she was flying away from them, on an easy bowline, at the rate of eleven knots."

"Thus terminated a chase, that has become historical in the American Navy, for its length, closeness, and activity. On the part of the English, there were manifested much perseverance and seamanship, a ready imitation, and a strong desire to get along side of their enemy. But the glory of the affair was carried off by the officers and people of the Constitution. Throughout all the trying circumstances of this arduous struggle, this noble frigate, which had so lately been the subject of the sneers of the English critics, maintained the high character of a man-of-war. Even when pressed upon the hardest, nothing was hurried, confused, or slovenly, but the utmost steadiness, order, and discipline reigned in the ship."— Vol. II. pp. 155 – 162.

The sequel of the naval events of the late war with England is related, in the course of the second volume of Mr. Cooper's work, with an ability corresponding with that of the description which we have quoted above. In interest, indeed, the second volume very far exceeds the first, owing, in part, to the more abundant materials within reach of the author, and also, in some degree, to the facts being familiar

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to many of us, and having made a deep impression upon our minds at the time of their occurrence.

The whole of this portion of the work, describing our naval battles with England, is characterized by a remarkable tone of liberality towards that country, which compares most advantageously with those portions of the works of Brenton and James, in which the same events are described. We are not, indeed, without the apprehension, that Mr. Cooper's unwillingness to claim too much credit for our triumphs in this brilliant, though unequal struggle, may have led him to be more than just to England. That he has been so in one instance, and in that instance to the prejudice and depreciation of one of the most glorious of all our naval achievements, is too manifest. We allude to the battle of Lake Erie. He seems, moreover, to have labored to convey an unfair impression of the relative exertions of Commodore Perry and of Captain Elliott, his second in command, during the battle. The controversy, which he thus brings up, is not of our seeking. It is of so personal a nature, that we would gladly avoid it, if we could do so, consistently with critical honesty. But it is forced upon whoever undertakes to comment upon Mr. Cooper's book; and, however disagreeable the task thus imposed, we cannot be so indifferent to the truth respecting one of the most brilliant exploits, nor so unjust to one of the most glorious names, in our naval annals, as to permit what we regard as gross misrepresentations concerning them to pass, without remonstrance of ours, into accredited history.

Our limits do not permit us to quote the whole of Mr. Cooper's account of this battle, as, with the comments which we propose to make on it, our article would be so far extended as to exclude the few hints on the condition and prospects of the navy, with which we propose to conclude our task. By citing the pages in which we are called upon to correct errors, the reader, with the work before him, will be able to follow and appreciate the justness of our commentary.

As a first instance, in which an indisposition, on the part of Mr. Cooper, to commend and highly estimate the merits of Commodore Perry, may be detected, we would call attention to the fact, that, after having stated, on page 389, Volume II., the circumstances attending the removal of the heavy vessels over the bar of Erie harbour, he fails to com-

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mend the seamanlike skill, ingenuity, and great despatch, with which that operation was performed, whilst, in all similar cases throughout the course of his work, even where far inferior interests are at stake, he evinces a lively perception of the merit displayed, and never fails to commend it strongly.

In order to elucidate the unfairness of Mr. Cooper's account of the battle, we will first copy his description of the relative position of the two squadrons at the time the action began.

"Captain Barclay (the British commander) had formed his line with the Chippeway, Mr. Campbell, armed with one gun on a pivot, in the van; the Detroit, his own vessel, next; and the Hunter, Lieutenant Bignall; Queen Charlotte, Captain Finnis; Lady Prevost, Lieutenant-Commandant Buchan; and Little Belt, astern, in the order named. To oppose this line, the Ariel, of four long twelves, was stationed in the van, and the Scorpion, of one long and one short gun on circles, next her. The Lawrence, Captain Perry, came next; the two schooners just mentioned keeping on her weather bow, having no quarters. The Caledonia, Lieutenant Turner, was the next astern, and the Niagara, Captain Elliott, was placed next to the Caledonia. These vessels were all up at the time, but the other light craft were more or less distant, each endeavouring to get into her berth. The order of battle for the remaining vessels, directed the Tigress to fall in astern of the Niagara, the Somers next, and the Porcupine and Trippe in the order named." — Vol. II. pp. 391, 392.

Mr. Cooper subsequently states, that "the order of battle required them to form within half a cable's length of each other," and as the Niagara was, as he states, in her station immediately before the action commenced, it follows, that she was only one cable's length astern of the Lawrence. Very soon after this, the action commenced with a shot from the Detroit at the Lawrence; still the Niagara was in her station and within hail, for at this time Commodore Perry ordered the word to be passed by trumpet, through Captain Elliot, for the squadron to close, as before prescribed, to half cable-length's distance. Mr. Cooper does not mention the material fact, that this word was passed, through Captain Elliott, after the action commenced; nor does he mention the equally material fact, that signal was now made for each vessel to engage her opponent, as designated in previous orders. Now the designated opponent of the Niagara was the Queen

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Charlotte, a fact which Mr. Cooper mentions at the commencement of his account of the engagement, but does not advert to afterwards, when it was seen, that the Niagara did not seek her opponent, so long as Captain Elliott remained on board of her.

We are told (p. 393), that the action commenced a few minutes before meridian, when the Niagara was hailed from the Lawrence, and the signal made for each vessel to engage her opponent, as previously designated. Mr. Cooper goes on to state.

"At this moment, the American vessels, in line, were edging down upon the English, those in van being necessarily nearer to the enemy than those astern of them, with the exception of the Ariel and Scorpion, which two schooners had been ordered to keep to windward of the Lawrence. As the Detroit had an armament of long guns, Captain Barclay manifested his judgment in commencing the action in this manner, and, in a short time, the firing between that ship, the Lawrence, and the two schooners at the head of the American line, became animated. A few minutes later, the vessels astern began to fire, and the action became general, but distant. The Lawrence, however, appeared to be the principal aim of the enemy, and, before the fire had lasted any material time, the Detroit, Hunter, and Queen Charlotte, were directing most of their efforts against her. The American brig endeavoured to close, and did succeed in getting within reach of canister, though not without suffering materially, as she fanned down upon the enemy. At this time, the support of the two schooners ahead, which were well commanded and fought, was of the greatest moment to her, for the vessels astern, though in the line, could be of little use in diverting the fire, on account of their positions and distance."—Vol. II. p. 393.

Where was the Niagara at this time, that she could not engage her designated opponent, the seventeen-gun ship Queen Charlotte, and thus relieve the Commodore, and assume her proper share in this unequal combat? If the Lawrence "did succeed in getting within reach of canister, though not without suffering materially, as she fanned down upon the enemy," why could not the Niagara, which, a few moments before, had answered a hail from the Commodore, and which had not, as yet, "suffered materially," or at all, also "fan down" to relieve her sorely pressed Commo-

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dore, and assail the Queen Charlotte, which, Mr. Cooper tells us, the Niagara had been destined specially to "lie against"? If "the support of the two schooners ahead," which "were well commanded and fought," though they mounted together only six guns, "was of the greatest moment" to the Lawrence, of how much greater moment would the support of the Niagara have been, had she, mounting twenty guns, been also "well commanded and fought"!

Mr. Cooper next tells us, that

"After the fire had lasted some time, the Niagara hailed the Caledonia, and directed the latter to make room for the brig to pass ahead. Mr. Turner put his helm up in the most dashing manner, and continued to near the enemy, until he was closer to his line, perhaps, than the commanding vessel; keeping up as warm a fire as his small armament would allow. The Niagara now became the vessel next astern of the Lawrence."—Vol. II. pp. 393, 394.

Here was conduct worthy of Daniel Turner, worthy of the noble fellow-townsman under whom he served. Convert Mr. Cooper's "perhaps" into a certainty, and admit that Lieutenant Turner was closer to the enemy's line than his commander; if Lieutenant Turner, in the little Caledonia, of three guns, did not hesitate to "put his helm up in the most dashing manner, and continue to near the enemy, until he was closer to his line, perhaps, than the commanding vessel, keeping up as warm a fire as his small armament would allow," why could not Captain Elliott, in the Niagara, of twenty guns, being so near to the Caledonia as to be embarrassed by her movements, have "put his helm up," in the same "dashing manner," until he too had been "closer to the enemy" than the commanding vessel, and broadside and broadside with the ship which he had been destined "to lie against"? This would have been in strict conformity with the last words of Commodore Perry to his commanders, while delivering them their written orders on the eve of the battle, (and to which Mr. Cooper nowhere adverts,) telling them, that he could not advise them better, than, in the words of Lord Nelson, "If you lay your enemy alongside, you cannot be out of your place." But Captain Elliott, in the Niagara, did not imitate Lieutenant Turner's "most dashing manner" of bearing up. On the contrary, the effect of his order, given in violation of the order of battle fixed by the

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Commodore, was to place the Caledonia between him and the enemy, instead of leaving this small vessel, unprotected by bulwarks, partially under cover of his bow, as the Ariel and Scorpion were under cover of the bow of the Lawrence. It is a little singular, that Mr. Cooper, having thus shown a true taste for what is noble in a naval officer, by eulogizing Lieutenant Turner for the dashing manner in which he bore down upon the enemy, should subsequently commend Captain Elliott for the directly opposite conduct of hauling up and keeping at long shots, and partially under cover, when he says (p. 402), "By steering for the head of the enemy's line, the latter was prevented from gaining the wind by tacking; and, when Captain Elliott imitated this manœuvre in the Niagara, the American squadron had a very commanding position, of which Captain Perry promptly availed himself." Lieutenant Turner is commended for dashing into the thickest of the fight, Captain Elliott for changing his Commodore's order of battle, and hauling out of it. Taking "a very commanding position" without the reach of danger, is mentioned with the same tone of commendation, and in the same paragraph, as rushing into the midst of it to conquer!

The account of the battle is thus continued;

"The effect of the cannonade was necessarily to deaden the wind, and for nearly two hours there was very little air. During all this time, the weight of the enemy's fire continued to be directed at the Lawrence; even the Queen Charlotte, having filled, passed the Hunter, and got under the stern of the Detroit, where she kept up a destructive cannonade on this devoted vessel. The effect of these united attacks, besides producing a great slaughter on board the Lawrence, was nearly to dismantle her, and at the end of two hours and a half, agreeably to Captain Perry's report, the British vessels having filled, and the wind beginning to increase, the two squadrons moved slowly ahead, the Lawrence necessarily dropping astern, and partially out of the combat. At this moment the Niagara passed to the westward, a short distance to the windward of the Lawrence, steering for the head of the enemy's line, and the Caledonia followed, to leeward." —Vol. II. p. 394.

When Mr. Cooper states, that "the Niagara hailed the Caledonia," and gave the order which led Lieutenant Turner to "put his helm up, in the most dashing manner," to run down upon the enemy, he merely informs us, that "the

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Niagara now became the next vessel to the Lawrence." He leaves us under the impression, that the Niagara was in a position to take her fair share in the fight. It is only at the close of the next paragraph, that the initiated may dimly discover what became of the Niagara, when the Caledonia bore up to make room for her. "The Niagara passed to the westward, a short distance to the windward of the Lawrence, steering for the head of the enemy's line, and the Caledonia followed, to leeward." In the language of the land, this means simply, that the Caledonia passed between the enemy and her disabled Commodore, offering such feeble succour as she was able, whilst the stout Niagara placed the Commodore, as well as the Caledonia, between her and the enemy, as a double shield of protection. This is the true meaning of Mr. Cooper's own account; we might cite documents which Mr. Cooper has failed to use, to show, that, at this time, the Niagara lay to, with her maintop-sail to the mast, and her gib brailed up, having the Lawrence between her and the enemy.

During two mortal hours, then, "the weight of the enemy's fire continued to be directed at the Lawrence; even the Queen Charlotte, having filled, passed the Hunter, and got under the stern of the Detroit, where she kept up a destructive cannonade on this devoted vessel." And the Niagara, which had been destined "to lie against" the Queen Charlotte,—which might so easily have followed the little Caledonia into the thickest of the fight,—and which should rather have shown her the way thither, had been withdrawn by her commander, so as to make a cover of the devoted vessel, which he should, in conformity with his instructions, no less than in obedience to every noble prompting of an officer and a man, have hastened to rescue.

The Lawrence, abandoned by her consort, and left to struggle, single-handed, with the whole British fleet, had been utterly cut to pieces; twenty-two of her crew were killed, and sixty-one wounded. Only one gun could still be used on board of her, and the services of her noble commander were necessary to load and fire that one. The battle seemed to all to be lost, and the British seamen were already cheering for their anticipated triumph. Perry had fought nobly, and might well have shared the necessary fate of his vessel, leaving the responsibility and disgrace of defeat

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to the unworthy associate, who had done every thing to secure it, when the day was again retrieved and won, by as noble an inspiration as naval history, through all times and ages, can afford. It was in this apparently hopeless moment of the battle, that the second lieutenant of the Lawrence, Dulany Forrest, said to Commodore Perry, "That brig (the Niagara) will not help us; see how he keeps off; he will not come to close action." "I'll fetch him up," said Commodore Perry. He ordered his boat to be manned, and, as he shoved off from the Lawrence, said, "If a victory is to be gained, I 'll gain it!" And well did he redeem his words; for, perhaps, of no naval battle may it be so truly said, that it was won by the personal exertions of the commander. How different the handling of the Niagara by Captain Elliott and by Commodore Perry. Under the former, at long shots, or under the protection of the Lawrence and Caledonia, and part of the time hove to and motionless, with her maintop-sail to the mast, and jib brailed up, seeking after the "very commanding position," which Mr. Cooper eulogizes; under Commodore Perry, changing her course eight points, or a whole right angle, and bearing down, under a press of sail, to encounter, not merely that Queen Charlotte, her opponent, which she had hitherto so successfully avoided, but the whole British fleet. Clear of her first commander, who had volunteered to go away from the scene of action, to bring up the small vessels, which were at a distance from the fight, the Niagara seems instinct with a new life. But we will let Mr. Cooper tell the tale, as here the facts are not susceptible of mystification.

"At this critical moment, the Niagara came steadily down, within half pistol shot of the enemy, standing between the Chippeway and Lady Prevost, on one side, and the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Hunter, on the other. In passing, she poured in her broadsides, starboard and larboard, ranged ahead of the ships, luffed athwart their bows, and continued delivering a close and deadly fire. The shrieks from the Detroit proved that the tide of battle had turned. At the same moment, the gun vessels and Caledonia were throwing in close discharges of grape and canister, astern. A conflict so fearfully close, and so deadly, was necessarily short. In fifteen or twenty minutes after the Niagara bore up, a hail was passed, among the small vessels, that the enemy had struck, and an officer of the Queen Charlotte appeared on the taffrail of that ship, waving a white handkerchief, bent to a boarding-pike." — Vol. II. pp. 395, 396.

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It was in this way, that the battle of Lake Erie was won, eminently, by the exertions of Commodore Perry, and equally so, in defiance of the studious want of exertion of Captain Elliott, his second in command. Yet we find, in a work, professing to give a faithful history of the American Navy, a disposition to disparage this, its most glorious event, and to distribute equal meeds of fame to the noble chief, who achieved it mainly by his own personal exertions, and the unworthy coadjutor, who did all that depended upon him to frustrate it.

As an evidence of a disposition to disparage the character of this victory, we will cite the fact, that the relative force of the two squadrons is not correctly stated by Mr. Cooper. He says, in his review of the battle ;

"It is not easy, to make a just comparison between the forces of the hostile squadrons, on this occasion. Under some circumstances, the Americans would have been materially superior, while, in others, the enemy might possess the advantage, in, perhaps, an equal degree. In those, under which the action was actually fought, the peculiar advantages, and disadvantages, were nearly equalized, the lightness of the wind preventing either of the two largest of the American vessels from profiting by their peculiar mode of efficiency, until quite near the close of the engagement, and particularly favoring the armament of the Detroit ; while the smoothness of the water rendered the light vessels of the Americans very destructive, as soon as they could be got within a proper range. The Detroit has been represented, on good authority, to be both a heavier and stronger ship, than either of the American brigs, and the Queen Charlotte proved to be a much finer vessel, than had been expected ; while the Lady Prevost was found to be a large warlike schooner. It was, perhaps, unfortunate for the enemy, that the armaments of these two vessels were not available, under the circumstances which rendered the Detroit so efficient, as it destroyed the unity of their efforts. In short, the battle, for near half its duration, appears to have been fought, so far as efficiency was concerned, by the long guns of the two squadrons. This was particularly favoring the Detroit, and the American gun vessels, while the latter fought under the advantage of smooth water, and the disadvantage of having no quarters. The sides of the Detroit, which were unusually stout, were filled with shot, that did not penetrate. In the number of men at quarters, there could have been no great disparity in the two squadrons."— Vol. II. pp. 399, 400.

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If it were possible to unravel this web of opposing evidence and contending opinions, the conclusion would rather remain, (even without taking into the account, that the writer is a countryman of ours, sufficiently patriotic to have won for himself the cognomen of "American,") that the American force was in no respect inferior, in ships and men, to the British. The facts are quite otherwise. In the account of the British force, where it is presented collectively by Mr. Cooper, the vessels, composing it, have an armament of fifty-nine guns. Subsequently, the Chippeway and Little Belt, not enumerated in this list, are found taking part in the action; the Chippeway is there stated to have had one gun, but the armament of the Little Belt is not mentioned. As we know, from other sources than Mr. Cooper's book, that the British force consisted of sixty-three guns, we infer, that the additional three were mounted on the Little Belt. The American force, as enumerated by Mr. Cooper, amounted to fifty-five guns; but one of the vessels contained on the list, the Ohio, of one gun, was absent from the action, on distant service. Thus it strangely happens, that, in the general enumeration of the opposing squadrons, from which almost every reader would receive his abiding impression of their relative forces, two British vessels are omitted, which appear as taking part in the action, while, on the contrary, one American vessel is enumerated, which did not take part in it. Even Brenton, so prejudiced in all his accounts of the naval actions between England and the United States, admits, that, "in number and weight of guns, the two squadrons were nearly equal: but the Americans had every advantage in the number and quality of the men." The facts of the case, with regard to the relative numbers of guns and men, (and, as these facts cannot be gleaned from Mr. Cooper's book, we the rather mention them,) are simply these. The British squadron consisted of six vessels, mounting, in all, sixty-three guns; the American squadron consisted of nine vessels, mounting fifty-four guns. With regard to the absence of any great disparity of men, stated by Mr. Cooper, it is sufficient to cite the fact mentioned by Commodore Perry, in writing to General Harrison, that the number of British prisoners taken on the occasion, exceeded that of the Americans, who went originally into action.

Mr. Cooper's criticism of this battle (p. 402) is written

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with a very different spirit from that, with which he eulogizes other victories, far less suited to excite the enthusiasm of an American. He states objections, that have been made to Captain Perry's mode of attack, and then argues with so little zeal, in refutation of them, as to leave the reader in doubt, as to which side his own opinion leans; so that the charge of having committed errors, which the reader now first hears insinuated, remains, and leaves, on the whole, an unfavorable impression. Even the heroic exploit of leaving the Lawrence, when wrecked and beaten, to pass under a heavy fire to the Niagara, in order to make a last chivalrous effort to retrieve the day, by taking her into the thickest of the fight, to the station which he had originally assigned to her, and from which she had so sedulously kept aloof, is disparaged, in an elaborate note, in which we are told, that "Captain Elliott was much longer in the same boat, and passed nearly through the whole line twice." It is not mentioned, that Captain Perry passed from under the guns of the enemy, when the Lawrence lay a wreck, exposed to a deadly fire, directed at him, to the Niagara, for the purpose of returning instantly with her, into the midst of the enemy's squadron, while Captain Elliott, on the contrary, passed from the Niagara, still so far beyond the reach of danger, as yet to have had only two men wounded, to that portion of the squadron which was yet more remote. Mr. Cooper concludes this note, which bears so much evidence of an intention to disparage Commodore Perry, for the benefit of Captain Elliott, by saying; "There was, no doubt, a personal risk, in all the boats, but there was personal risk everywhere, on such an occasion."

In evidence, that the personal risk was not everywhere the same in this action, we will quote some facts stated by Mr. Cooper, with regard to the casualties in the American squadron. Speaking of the unparalleled carnage on board the Lawrence, he says,

"Of her crew, twenty-two were killed and sixty-one wounded, most of the latter severely. When Captain Perry left her, taking with him four of his people, there remained on board but fifteen sound men. The Niagara had two killed, and twenty-five wounded, or about one-fourth of all at quarters." — Vol. II. p. 397.

He subsequently says,

"Although the Niagara suffered in a much less degree,

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twenty-seven men killed and wounded, in a ship's company that mustered little more than one hundred souls at quarters, under ordinary circumstances, would be thought a large proportion."—Vol. II. pp. 398, 399.

Here, certainly, was considerable personal risk, though the killed of the Niagara, compared with that of the Lawrence, was only in the proportion of two to twenty-two. But, if the reader infers, and Mr. Cooper does not lead him to infer otherwise, that the killed and wounded of the Niagara were struck by the side of Captain Elliott, the inference would be most erroneous. We learn, from other sources than Mr. Cooper's book, that two men were wounded on board the Niagara, up to the time of Captain Elliott's leaving her, and two men were also wounded on board of the Somers, to which vessel Captain Elliott repaired, and we will suppose, that these two men were wounded after Captain Elliott took command of her. It follows, that of the total killed and wounded, of the squadron, amounting, in all, to twenty-seven killed, and ninety-six wounded, twenty-four were killed, and eighty-six wounded at the side of Commodore Perry, while four were wounded at the side of Captain Elliott. Though Mr. Cooper says, "there was personal risk everywhere," he will scarcely deny, that here the degree was very different, being as four to one hundred and ten.

The moral of Mr. Cooper's account of the battle of Lake Erie, seems to be summed up in the following words; "For his conduct, in this battle, Captain Perry received a gold medal from Congress. Captain Elliott also received a gold medal." Throughout the account of this battle, there seems to us, for the reasons we have enumerated, to be an effort to disparage the brilliancy of the victory generally, and to detract from the glory of the hero who won it, by an attempt to raise the name of Captain Elliott to the same unsullied eminence with that of his chief. We are told, that "Captain Perry, in his Report of the action, eulogized the conduct of his second in command, Captain Elliott." We are not told, that Captain Perry subsequently recalled this eulogy in the most solemn manner, explaining, in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy (bringing charges against Captain Elliott) the noble and generous motives, which led him into error.

"After the battle was won, (he says,) I felt no disposition rigidly to examine into the conduct of any of the officers of the

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fleet; and, strange as the behaviour of Captain Elliott had been, yet I would not allow myself to come to a decided opinion, that an officer, who had so handsomely conducted himself on a former occasion, as I then, in common with the public, had been led to suppose Captain Elliott had, could possibly be guilty of cowardice or treachery. The subsequent conduct, also, of Captain Elliott; the readiness with which he undertook the most minute services; the unfortunate situation in which he now stood, which he lamented to me, and his marked endeavours to conciliate protection, were all well calculated to have their effect. But, still more than all, I was actuated by a strong desire, that in the fleet I then had the honor to command, there should be nothing but harmony after the victory they had gained, and that nothing should transpire, which would bring reproach upon any part of it, or convert into crimination the praises to which they were entitled, and which I wished them all to share and enjoy.

"These, Sir, are the reasons, which induced me, at the time, not to bring on an inquiry into his conduct. The cause and propriety of my now doing so, will, I trust, require but few explanations. I would willingly, for my own sake, as well as his, after the course I had pursued, for the purpose of shielding him, have still remained silent; but this Captain Elliott will not allow me to do. He has acted upon the idea, that by assailing my character he shall repair his own.

"After he was left in the command, on Lake Erie, I was soon informed of the intrigues he was there practising, some of which are detailed in these charges. These I should not have regarded, as long as they were private; but I then determined and declared, to many of my friends in the navy, that, should Captain Elliott ever give publicity to his misrepresentations, I would then demand an investigation of the whole of his conduct. This necessity is now forced upon me."

From the affidavits of evidence, accompanying the charges against Captain Elliott, forwarded by Commodore Perry to the Secretary of the Navy, and from other affidavits, subsequently furnished by other officers of the squadron on Lake Erie, the signers of which occupied important stations during the fight, and have ever been held among the most honorable and high-minded officers in the navy, it would have been an easy task for us to have shown the manner in which the battle of Lake Erie was won by Commodore Perry, and jeoparded by Captain Elliott, and to have assigned to the chieftain and his associate their just meeds of glory and dishonor. Finding, however, in the work of Mr. Cooper itself, the means of

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arriving at the truth, by an analysis of the facts, so as to remove the unjust impression, which the statements and commentaries together are suited to convey, we have preferred to avail ourselves of the materials which he has himself afforded, to vindicate the claims of a departed hero to the gratitude of his country, and the uses of history from unjust perversion, to serve the temporary interests of persons or parties.

Apart from the serious objections, which we have been reluctantly compelled to urge against Mr. Cooper's book, with regard to his unfair account of the battle of Lake Erie, we have little to say against the tone and spirit of its execution. We might, perhaps, also except the efforts which he makes to vindicate the conduct of some officers, who have been the occasion of dishonor to the country ; a vindication which is the more offensive, because it is contrasted with the disparagement of others, whose reputation is cherished among the proudest national recollections. His style, though incorrect and inelegant, is strong ; and, for the sake of its strength and energy, we can excuse the want of polish, the frequent recurrence of favorite ideas, such as "facts invariaaby preceding opinion, in a country as purely practical as this," and the constant and awkward use of sea-phrases, often unintelligible to the ordinary reader, even when properly applied. With these exceptions, the work has the merit of liberality, talent, and ingenuity. The narratives of battles are almost always nervous and striking, and the criticisms, which accompany them, generally just and discriminating.

The Introduction of the work is a highly sensible and important paper, in which Mr. Cooper has stated the result of his reflections on the condition and wants of the navy. His ideas are just in themselves, and valuable, as the fruit of such long study of a favorite theme. We should be glad to make room here for the whole of his Introduction, but must restrict ourselves to a few extracts.

"While those who have reflected, have clearly foreseen, that the republic must assert its place in the scale of nations, defend its territory, and maintain its rights, principally by means of a powerful marine, all are compelled to acknowledge, that the growth of this branch of the public service has been slow, uncertain, and marked by a policy as timid as it has been fluctuating."

"It has long been confessed, that America possessed every

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qualification for the creation of a powerful navy, but men and money. The necessary skill, the required aptitude for sea service, and the other requisites, have always been admitted; but it has been asserted, that neither the finances, nor the population, would allow of the draw on their resources, that is unavoidably connected with a strong marine. The two deficiencies, if they actually existed, would certainly be fatal.

"In the years 1812, 1813, and 1814, the republic expended considerably more than $50,000,000 on its current military operations, without reference to the large sums, that were subsequently paid, on the same account. This war lasted but two years and eight months, and, during the first season, its operations were very limited. $30,000,000 more were paid, on account of military charges, in the two years of peace that immediately succeeded, making a total of $80,000,000. It is known, that even this large sum falls materially short of the truth. During the same five years, the money expended on the navy amounted to only $30,000,000, although the peculiar nature of the service on the Lakes involved an enormous and an unusual expenditure; and a war with Algiers occurred, during which the country maintained, afloat, a much larger force than it had ever previously employed. In addition, the greater part of this expenditure was the cost of new constructions. It follows, that America expended nearly two dollars on her army, and its military operations, in the war of 1812, for every dollar expended on her navy, including the expense of building most of the costly vessels of the service. Had the fact been precisely reversed, it is probable, that the proportions required by good policy would have been better observed, and there can be but little doubt, that the country would have reaped the advantage; for no serious invasion of America will ever be attempted, in the face of a strong fleet, after the country shall be provided with docks and arsenals, by means of which, accidental reverses can be remedied. By dividing the large sum expended on the army and navy, between the years 1812 and 1816, inclusively, $40,000,000 would have fallen to the share of each branch of the service, which would have given $8,000,000 a year to the navy. This sum would be amply sufficient, to maintain a force of twenty sail of the line, with a suitable number of small vessels, to cruise in company. Against such a fleet, no European power could have attempted an invasion of a coast, so distant from its own resources." "In the contest of 1812, the vessels of war were directed to destroy the ships they took, because the enemy was known so closely to infest the coast, that it was impossible to get a prize in, whereas a strong force would put an end to all sorts of blockades."

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"But the probationary period of the American marine is passing away, and the body of the people are beginning to look forward to the appearance of their fleets on the ocean. It is no longer thought, there is an unfitness in the republic's possessing heavy ships; and the opinion of the country, in this, as in other respects, is slowly rising to the level of its wants. Still, many lingering prejudices remain in the public mind, in connexion with this all-important subject, and some that threaten the service with serious injury. Of these, the most prominent are, the mode in which the active vessels are employed; a neglect of the means of creating seamen for the public service; the fact, that there is no force in commission on the American coast; the substitution of money for pride and self-respect, as the aim of military men; and the impairing of discipline, and lessening the deference for the justice of the state, by the denial of rank."

"It will be clear to the dullest mind, that the evolutions of a fleet, and, in a greater or less degree, its success, must be dependent on the qualities of its poorest vessels, since its best cannot abandon their less fortunate consorts to the enemy. The naval history of the world abounds with instances, in which the efforts of the first sea-captains, of their respective ages, have been frustrated by the defects of a portion of the ships under their command. To keep a number of vessels in compact order, to cause them to preserve their weatherly position, in gales and adverse winds, and to bring them all, as near as possible, up to the standard that shall be formed by the most judicious and careful commander, is one of the highest aims of naval experience. On the success of such efforts, depend the results of naval evolutions, more frequently than on any dexterity in fighting guns. An efficient fleet can no more be formed without practice in squadrons, than an efficient army without evolutions in brigades. By not keeping ships in squadrons, there will also be less emulation, and consequently less improvement."

"By putting in commission six or eight two-decked ships, and by causing them to appear, from time to time, on all the more important stations, on this side of the two great southern capes, the country, at no material additional cost, would obtain the several objects of practice in fleets, of comparative trials of the qualities of the most important class of vessels in the navy, of a higher state of discipline, and of a vast improvement in the habits of subordination, on the part of commanders, a defect, that all experience shows, is peculiar to the desultory mode of service now in use, and which has produced more naval disasters in the world, than probably any other cause. In a word,

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the principal ends of a navy can no more be obtained, by the services of single ships, than wars can be decided by armies, cut up into battalions. Small vessels are as indispensable, for lower schools of practice, as company drills in an army ; but squadrons alone can produce the highest class of officers, the steadiest discipline, or the desired objects.

" In addition to this neglect of accustoming the service to the use of the particular sort of force, necessary to render a marine effective for great ends, the history of the world cannot, probably, supply a parallel to that forgetfulness, which the American government has manifested, of all the known incentives of human exertions, in the management of the navy." " Next to personal reputation, military rank is the highest stimulus of a military life. Its possession enters into all the day-dreams of the young aspirant for fame and honors, is inseparable from self-respect, and is indissolubly connected with discipline." " For many years, all the promotions of the American marine were limited to three ! Even at this day, with full experience of the evils of a system of incentives so meagre, and of a concentration of rank so destructive of self-respect and discipline, the life of the American naval officer is cheered by only four promotions, two of which are little more than the changes that nature herself demands, by transferring the officer from the duty of a boy, to duty more becoming a man."

" It is not easy, fully to impress on the minds of civilians the immense results, that are dependent on a due division of military rank. The commission, which represents the power of the state, in a short time gets to be the substitute of personal qualities, and produces that prompt and nearly passive obedience, which are indispensable to the success of military movements."

" The rank of a captain in the navy never can be a sufficient inducement to attract the highest talents, in a country in which every species of preferment is open to competition. Hope has hitherto kept the service together, the want of fleets furnishing an apparent apology for trusting to the future. To pretend, however, to manage fleets, with officers of the same rank as the commanders of single vessels, infers as great an absurdity, as to pretend to manage ships with no other rank than that of a midshipman. There is, indeed, a greater connexion between rank and discipline as applied to fleets, than between rank and discipline as applied to ships."

" The necessity of creating higher rank in the navy, on account of its influence on other services, more especially when acting in concert with American fleets, has often been pointed out. The answer to this practical argument, has usually been

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a high pretension, in behalf of the republic, to act agreeably to its own policy, and a right to insist, that any notion of superiority, that it may choose to attach to the station of a captain, in its own navy, shall be recognised by the agents of other governments. This extravagant idea can be supported by neither usage, reason, nor common sense. In the first place, all international questions should be settled by the general consent of states, and not by the peculiar policy of any particular community. As well might America pretend to say, its *chargés d'affaires* shall have the rank of ambassadors at foreign courts, as to say, that its captains, under any circumstances, shall have the rank of admirals on foreign stations." "The usages of nations must control this interest, as well as all others, that equally affect different states; and as there is nothing new, or peculiar, in captains occasionally commanding squadrons, under the temporary title of commodores, among all the naval powers of Christendom, other people may object to America's attaching a new importance to an old commission." "Admirals are as necessary to fleets, as captains to ships. The thing must exist, under some appellation or other; and, if the old term brings with it additional dignity, respect, authority, and adds fresh incentives to exertions, it is utter imbecility to discard it. There is no more fitness in calling the commander of a fleet a captain, or even a commodore, than in styling the first magistrate of the republic a justice of the peace."—Vol. i. pp. xiii.–xxxi.

A fact has just occurred, within our own waters, to illustrate the soundness of these remarks. We read, in the journals of the day, that the French Admiral Baudin, in command of the West India station, made a visit to Pensacola, while Commodore Shubrick, commanding our naval forces in the West Indies, was lying in the harbour. Owing to his inability to exchange courtesies, on equal terms, with an officer inferior to him in rank, in a foreign service, the French Admiral left the port prematurely. Yet both these officers were commanders-in-chief, and the American, probably, had under his orders the heaviest force. The difficulty consisted in the disparity of rank, the one being a duly commissioned admiral, the other only a post-captain, with the brevet rank of commodore, which likewise exists, as an inferior rank, in all other navies. We hope, for the sake of the discipline of the navy, and the attitude which our national pride would wish it to assume towards all foreign navies, both in peace and war, that the rank of admiral may be speedily established in it.

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Another measure, of scarcely inferior importance to the creation of the rank of admiral, we consider to be the establishment of a naval academy for the education of midshipmen. If it were necessary to prove, that a preparatory school for the education of young officers for the navy is as important as the corresponding establishment, now existing, for the education of officers for the army, at West Point, we might show, that the naval profession is not less distinct from ordinary pursuits than the military, and, therefore, no less requires a specially adapted education. If, then, a preparatory education is as necessary to qualify a youth to become distinguished in the navy as in the army, it cannot be denied, that high qualifications, in the naval officer, are quite as essential to the safety and honor of the country. In time of war, the navy is to fight our battles at a distance from our shores; surely our officers should not merely be brave, but skilled in all the arts that decide the fate of battles; versed not merely in all that theory can suggest, but acquainted with every expedient, that has ever been resorted to, by the naval heroes of every age. In seasons of peace, our friendly relations with other powers are in no slight degree intrusted to the keeping of our naval commanders; for it is on the common highway of the ocean, that our interests and honor are most often brought into collision with those of other powers. At all times, our ships of war are the representatives of our country, in every quarter of the globe; it is chiefly by the worth, intelligence, and courtesy of their officers, that an estimate can be formed of the nation that sends them forth.

Our ideas of a naval academy, and they are unchanged since we first expressed them, ten years ago, in this Journal,* are, that it should be established in some healthy, isolated situation, with the sea in sight, affording constant opportunities of beholding the manœuvres of ships. The age of admission might be thirteen years, and the term of service either three or four years. The system of discipline should be rigid, yet paternal. Mathematics would, of course, form the groundwork of the pupils' education; but its study should not be pursued beyond the point necessary to render the various problems of nautical astronomy intelligible. Upon this would be raised the superstructure of natural philosophy, astronomy, navigation, surveying, the principles of naval architecture,

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XXX. pp. 360, *et seq.*

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and the theory of working ships. To these studies should be added a knowledge of history, of the laws of nations, and of the rules of composition. The French and Spanish languages, and drawing, should also be taught.

The exercises should consist in fencing, and the use of firearms; but chiefly in the manœuvres of a small ship, of one or two hundred tons, moored near the academy. Rigging and stripping ship, exercising guns, reefing, furling, steering, and heaving the lead; every operation, in short, should be performed by the lads themselves. Each class should have its proper station; the junior class, on deck; the next would know enough to be top-men; and so on, with the stations of petty officers; the senior class would do the duty of officers, and be stationed about, to direct and aid the efforts of the crew; while in rotation one of the number would be invested with the command. One day in each week should be employed in a cruise round the harbour; while, in summer, the ordinary season of vacation might be passed in an extended cruise along the coast. Every thing done, on board of such a vessel, would be done in the best manner; the youths would have before them an epitome of their future profession, and would be constantly engaged in the actual execution of its details. If this system were introduced, it would furnish an invaluable groundwork of professional education to our officers. The first examination for admission would reject many applicants, and the subsequent years of probation would clear off all the stupid, vicious, and insubordinate. Those who should pass the ordeal creditably, and enter the navy as midshipmen, would be of the greatest use by their own services, no less than by stimulating the efforts of their superiors. With such an institution, we might dispense entirely with the schools existing at the several naval stations, and also with the present worthless and utterly abortive system of schools on board ship, where, in many cases, the schoolmaster is the occasion of stimulating little other ingenuity, than that of playing tricks, at his own expense, which tricks, however subversive of discipline, are sometimes encouraged by the contemptuous and disparaging treatment pursued by commanders towards this class of officers.

If it be of importance to take measures for the education of the officers of our navy, of still greater importance is it

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to endeavour to establish a settled system for the manning of our fleets. We think, that a basis for such a system might be found in the law of Congress for the enlistment of apprentices into the navy. Even to the extent to which this system has been carried, it has been productive of good, by introducing a class of recruits into the navy very superior to any that have hitherto been entered. As yet, however, only five hundred apprentices have been entered since the law passed, nearly three years ago. At this rate, though the character of our seamen, petty officers, and warrant officers, may, in a course of years, be considerably improved, by the introduction into the service of a portion of better-trained materials of native stock, but little will be effected towards the great object of manning the navy with a class of native seamen, specially trained for it. We believe, however, that the apprentice system, properly expanded and judiciously carried out, may man the navy entirely in ten years. At present, the boys, of the character and propensities which lead them to go to sea, and make their parents willing that they should do so, are only taken from the four large cities where there are recruiting stations. Stations should be established at more numerous points, but on a smaller and less expensive scale, for entering apprentices for the navy; and advertisements should be published, far and wide in the country, setting forth the terms on which the government would receive them, and the obligations by which it would bind itself to furnish them with education, and a profession by which they could always support themselves comfortably, and rise in the navy, or merchant service, according to their degree of merit and ambition. In this way, a drag net might be thrown over the whole country, and probably two thousand boys, between thirteen and seventeen years of age, might be annually procured. As they improved, and distinguished themselves for good conduct, they should be advanced to be ordinary seamen and seamen, and, in the closing years of their apprenticeship, they would, many of them, be qualified to become petty officers. Graduated apprentices should have the preference for the stations of petty officers; and, as they advanced in experience and ability, the stations of boatswain and gunner should be likewise open to them. These stations are now often filled by foreigners, and, though the pay is handsome, are filled very badly. The

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gunners of the service are particularly deficient, and unworthy of their station, though it is one of great responsibility and importance. Their annual pay, in a line-of-battle ship, amounts to near eight hundred dollars, and yet, perhaps, there are not three on the list thoroughly competent for their duty. There should be a school, for the education of gunners' mates and gunners, on board of our steamers of war, which should also be used, each summer, as a school of practice for gunnery, as is now the case with the Fulton. We should like to see the system of gunnery education, practised on board the Excellent at Portsmouth in England, introduced into the Fulton forthwith, and into the other steamers as they are completed. In this way we might soon have gunners, who would be Americans, and know their duty.

With regard to the naval apprentices, after a few months' preparatory training in the receiving-ships, to each of which a small cruiser, for exercise, might be attached, they should be sent on distant cruises, with rigid orders to the commanders to carry out a prescribed system of education. To prevent desertion among the apprentices, after they have become sailors, they should be kept well ahead of the purser, with large balances due them. At the expiration of their terms of service, they might receive a discharge which would entitle them to receive their pay, as on leave of absence, if returning within two months; and the same system might be pursued now towards petty officers and seamen, permitting them, at all times, to report themselves on board of any receiving-ship, at the expiration of two months from the time of their discharge, receiving their pay for the interval, and the same rank as in the last ship. By pursuing the apprentice system to its utmost limits, there is little doubt, that the navy would, within ten years, man itself entirely with native seamen, familiar with its ships and officers, and having all its interests warmly at heart. It would also serve to furnish skilful seamen to the merchant service, instead of being, as it now is, a drain upon it.

In the mean time, and until the apprentice system can be made the means of completely manning the navy, we should be sorry to see our ships continue in port, and our navy prevented from taking that extension, which the protection of commerce requires, by the want of seamen to fill up their complements. Let our ships, now waiting for crews, fill up

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with any material they can get, so long as the number is complete, and sail. If they have sailors enough, petty officers included, to reef the maintop-sail, they can be taken care of from the first, and, in a few months of skilful training, will be able to perform every evolution creditably. The Independence, which spreads nearly as much canvass as the Pennsylvania, sailed from Boston, in 1837, with a crew of less than six hundred men, exclusive of officers. They were unusually young and light hands, and most of them entirely raw. Yet, from the moment of bending sails, there was no striking deficiency, and in a very few months the ship could enter into comparison, in the performance of evolutions, with the most practised cruisers. Any of the sloops, now waiting for crews, might perfectly well go to sea with three fourths of their crews composed of boys and landsmen. The difficulty of manning our ships, under the present system, would be much lessened, if the ships, returning from abroad, were to arrive in May and June, and those bound out to sail in July and August. The men would have a pleasant season to spend their hard-earned pay in, and would soon be ready to take service in the departing ships. Our ships, too, would approach and leave our coast in fine weather. The extensive mortality, which always occurs when ships are fitted out in the winter, and the many deaths which take place in the course of the cruise, clearly attributable to the same cause, might thus be avoided.

With regard to the character and construction of our ships, great necessity exists for the adoption of fixed principles, and settled models for every different class. The greatest difference of opinion exists, as to which are the best ships in the service, and most worthy to be adopted as models. The prevailing opinion is probably in favor of the Ohio, as a line-of-battle ship, the Constitution, United States, or President, as a frigate, the Vincennes, or John Adams, as a sloop, and the Spark, as a small vessel. It is highly desirable, on this account, to bring a number of our best vessels, of every different class, together, to cruise, with a view to establish, beyond a doubt, which are superior. This object, and that of the general improvement of the navy, could be easily effected by carrying out the proposition of Mr. Cooper for the perpetual maintenance of a cruising squadron of six or eight line-of-battle ships, accompanied by a number of the best frigates

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and smaller vessels. Such a squadron would, at the same time, form a school for the perfecting of every thing belonging to the service, by affording a degree of competition which has never yet existed, and display the power of the republic, in every sea, in a manner well suited to protect the interests of our commerce. Whenever any coast became the scene of war or blockades, our fleet should appear on it, for the double purpose of observation and instruction to the officers, and of furnishing to our merchants the best possible guaranty against spoliation. In order that this guaranty may be more effectually rendered, not merely by our fleet of observation and experience, if we shall ever have one, but by our cruisers generally in every sea, we think that our commanders should be furnished with general instructions to regulate their conduct with regard to the protection of commerce, the respect to be paid to blockades, what blockades are valid and binding, and what are not; also, with regard to affording refuge to political fugitives; and whether they should, under any circumstances, land a portion of their crew, for the protection of American citizens, in moments of revolutionary struggle. It seems to us very clear, that portions of the crews of our ships should not be landed in cities, disturbed by insurrections, to protect the property of American citizens; and yet this has occasionally been practised. The existence and efficiency of a man-of-war is thus jeoparded by the liability of a portion of her crew to be cut off, and with it her ability to perform her legitimate duty of receiving American citizens under the protection of the flag. Moreover, a commander, landing a portion of his crew, may thus be easily betrayed into a breach of neutrality. With regard to the reception of fugitives, it is true, that genuine patriots may, in seasons of domestic trouble, be compelled to fly for their lives; but it is the duty of neutrals to respect the sovereignty of the port which offers them hospitality, and the dominant party which holds sway there by the will of the majority. If, however, hospitality should be granted to those who, when in peril of life from revolutionary movements, seek the hospitality and protection of our flag, the boats of our ships should, at any rate, never invade the sovereignty of a foreign state for the purpose of withdrawing criminals, or political delinquents, from its jurisdiction. The commander of a man-of-war loses his ability to protect his

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own countrymen, and to fulfill his legitimate office of exerting his influence in their behalf, whenever he irritates the existing authorities of a country, by invading its sovereignty, and violating its independence.

We hope, then, for the sake of the interests and honor of the country, to see our naval commanders furnished with a brief and comprehensive code of international law, in the shape of concise orders, for the regulation of their conduct in all questions that are likely to occur to them in the prosecution of their responsible duties. These orders would distinctly instruct them, as to the control they would exercise over our merchantmen, the protection they should render them, when to allow them to be captured for a breach of virtual blockade, and when to stand to their guns in defence of them, when a blockade is illegal and ineffective. The conduct to be pursued, with regard to the demand of deserters from our service, and the delivery up of those from foreign services, should also be distinctly prescribed. We are of opinion, that deserters should never be delivered up, except by virtue of a reciprocal treaty stipulation.

By means of orders, such as we have described, the information, scattered over many volumes of international law, would be placed within the reach of our naval commanders, in the compass of a dozen pages, prescribing the line of their conduct, in whatever circumstances of difficulty they might be placed. Thus, in the conduct of our external relations, through the medium of our ships, the combined wisdom of our ablest jurists would be substituted for the erring guidance of minds not accustomed to grapple with legal problems, and, at the very moment when they are called on to decide and act with vigor, too often crushed by the pressure of a responsibility so much more formidable to them than cannon-balls. It is true, that our commanders, when left to themselves, have generally acquitted themselves creditably of their important charge to protect the interests of commerce, and sustain the honor of our flag; but it is also true, that they have occasionally made very pitiful exhibitions. We would wish to see these instructions, not merely issued to all our naval commanders, but published to the world, that foreign nations might not only be informed with regard to the settled policy of our country, on all the great principles of international law affecting the commerce of the seas, but also,

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that we were ready, on all occasions, by force of arms, to defend it. So far from bringing us in collision with foreign nations, orders such as these, when published to the world, would be our sure guaranty from aggression. They would, moreover, be one step towards the triumph of justice throughout the world.

To form a just estimate of what should constitute the disposable force of our own navy, it is necessary to take into consideration the disposable naval force of other powers. There are no fewer than five powers that maintain, at this time, a stronger force in commission than we do; namely, England, France, Russia, Turkey, and Egypt. Were we suddenly to go to war with any one of the three former, we should necessarily be overpowered, blockaded, and driven temporarily from the ocean, in the first struggle. As, however, it is with England or France, that we are most likely to come in collision on the ocean, we will take a brief view of the force and condition of their navies. By a statement, made by an intelligent officer of our service recently employed in examining the condition of the European navies, it appears, that, in September last, the British navy, including ships in process of construction, consisted of ninety-one line-of-battle ships, one hundred frigates, twenty corvettes, twenty-three steam ships, and one hundred and seventy-six smaller vessels. Of these, twenty-three line-of-battle ships, ten frigates, eighteen corvettes, sixteen steam ships, and one hundred and fifty-one small vessels were actually in commission. The French navy consisted, at the same time, of forty-nine line-of-battle ships, sixty frigates, forty-four corvettes, thirty-one steam ships, and forty-six small vessels. Of these, eleven line-of-battle ships, seventeen frigates, twenty-four corvettes, twenty steam ships, and thirty-six small vessels were in commission. Let us now examine what was, at the same time, the condition of our own navy. We had eleven line-of-battle ships, seventeen frigates, fourteen corvettes, one steam ship, ten small vessels, and one store-ship. Of these, two line-of-battle ships, three frigates, thirteen sloops, one steam ship, ten small vessels, and the store-ship were in commission. The comparison of numbers, between our ships, as thus stated, and those of England and France, is absolutely ludicrous; and yet our commerce, the protection of which is the most legitimate object of a navy, is

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rapidly approaching to an equality with that of England, and is three times that of France. If the disparity of numbers is so much against us, in a comparison of our navy with that of England and France, we are not so sure as we would wish to be, that a comparison, in other respects, would be more favorable to us. In the order of their ships, whether for appearance or for service, in the efficiency of the batteries, the arrangement of the sights and locks, the condition of the small arms, and their convenient arrangement for use, as well as in the habit of using them, in successful effort to attach the crews to the service, in every thing, in short, but the issue of ardent spirits and the infliction of the lash, we are not sure, that our navy would not suffer in a comparison with that of England. We fear, indeed, that the English navy, in its condition, bears somewhat the same relation to ours now, as ours did to it at the commencement of the late war. The acknowledgment is made reluctantly and with mortification, but with a view to reformation. With regard to the French navy, it is inferior to ours in the evolutions of single ships, and in seamanship generally ; but superior in the arrangement of the batteries, magazines, and small arms. Gunnery is more practised, and better understood, in the French navy than in ours. A familiarity, too, with the use of hollow shot, projected horizontally, gives them a great advantage over us. Shot of this description were first invented, in this country, towards the close of the war with England, by R. L. Stevens, Esquire, and some were preparing to be put on board the President frigate, when she sailed and was brought to action by a squadron of British ships. These shots, having been found, by experiment, to be very destructive, were put, formerly, on board of our ships of war ; but, of late years, the practice has been discontinued. In the mean time, the French have introduced them into all their ships. Four heavy guns, for the discharge of hollow shot, are placed in each of their large ships, and two in the smaller vessels. These hollow shot were found very effective in the attack on the castle of San Juan de Ulloa. The English are also introducing them into all their newly-fitted ships. It is time that our officers, also, should become acquainted with the use of a highly destructive missile, originally invented among us.

In full view of all these circumstances, we think, that, in

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order to be prepared to come successfully out of any struggle, in which we may hereafter be involved, our naval preparations should be on a footing, to enable us to put to sea, within five years, with a force of forty sail of the line, and an equal number of frigates. Half of this force should be ready to sail within a year, the rest of the ships should be on the stocks, or in frames, ready to be set up. Six line-of-battle ships might be kept in commission, as a fleet of observation, and school of practice. Six frigates, with twenty sloops, and a dozen brigs, would suffice, for the ordinary protection of commerce, throughout the world; the fleet of line-of-battle ships being always ready to repair to a threatened point of hostilities or blockade.

A home squadron, of half a dozen vessels, would be exceedingly useful, for the purpose of relieving vessels coming on our coast at inclement seasons, and, at all times, as a school of practice and a nursery for seamen. The home squadron might, also, include all the revenue vessels, they being brought into the regular service. In England, where the temptation to smuggle is so much greater than here, the cruisers, which protect the revenue, form part of the regular service. There is no reason, why the same system should not answer here; and at a time when it is desirable to find useful employment for our officers, such a field for it, as the preventive service would afford, should not be neglected. The officers of our navy, taking part in this service, in turn, would all obtain accurate local information of our coasts and harbours, which would be of the greatest value to them. The present officers of the revenue service could be introduced into the navy as masters, and masters' mates, or placed upon pension. In times past, the revenue vessels have, occasionally, been commanded by naval officers, but not as belonging to the regular navy. If they have been guilty of misconduct, or failed to give satisfaction to the Treasury Department, they have been dismissed from their commands, without suffering at all as naval officers. If we were to adopt the preventive service, as it exists in England, in connexion with our home squadron, the system could not fail to work well, and the navy to derive great benefit from it.

Instead of the present system, of attaching a ship permanently to one station for three years, great benefit would be derived from introducing a rotation of stations. The ships,

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which go first to the Mediterranean, might leave it, on the approach of winter, during which they do not cruise in that sea, and proceed to Brazil, by the Canary Islands, and the coast of Africa; after remaining a year on the coast of Brazil, they might return homewards by the West Indies, completing their term of service on that station. In like manner, the East India ships might return by the Pacific and Brazil, as the Columbia and John Adams, indeed, are about to do; and the Pacific ships, having remained on the coast of Brazil until the season should be favorable for passing Cape Horn, might circumnavigate the world in the contrary direction, returning by the East Indies and the Cape of Good Hope. Great advantage would result from this system, in the protection of commerce, as the field of cruising would be greatly extended, and our ships would be constantly appearing in remote quarters and unexpectedly. The object of professional improvement would be promoted, by our ships being almost constantly at sea, and the irksomeness of a long detention on a particular coast would be avoided. The flag ships might remain constantly on the same station, if it were deemed advisable. In addition to our present stations, the constant presence of a sloop, in the neighbourhood of our principal whaling station, for the time being, would be exceedingly useful to that valuable branch of commerce and nursery of seamen.

In addition to our present classes of ships, we should find great advantage in having three or four frigates, to draw not more than nineteen feet, for flag ships on the Brazil and West India stations. Vessels of this draft might be made to sail and perform well, and could enter the ports of the river La Plata with ease, as well as most of our southern harbours, and those of the Gulf of Mexico. Sloops of war will not answer the purpose, as they are not considered, abroad, sufficiently respectable to bear the flag of a commander-in-chief.

If we are not to have admirals, and without them we can never have a respectable or well-disciplined navy, at any rate our commodores should never be permitted to go to sea without captains to command their ships. Commodores, without captains under them, scarcely ever merit the name. They are merely captains of particular ships, often making use of their superiority only to render the other ships of the squadron subservient to their own, instead of feeling an equal

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interest in all. Moreover, from the advanced age at which they usually reach this station, they are unsuited to handle their ships in a skilful and dashing manner. The mature judgment and caution, which would fit them to govern fleets, as admirals, are not so applicable to the active command of single ships, which requires promptness and excitability. We are of opinion, that, in addition to captains in all flag ships, it would be highly conducive to discipline, if the executive duty, now assigned to the first lieutenant, were performed by commanders in all our line-of-battle ships and frigates. No vessel, however small, which is sent on a foreign station, should be commanded by a lower class of officers, than that of commander; and vessels commanded by lieutenants, on the home station, should have passed midshipmen to keep the watches.

Among the existing evils of the service, is the frequent change of officers in our ships. In no case should an officer be transferred from the ship in which he originally sailed, unless his health should be so much impaired, as, in the case of a seaman, would lead to his being sent home as an invalid. Nothing occasions so much discouragement among the seamen of a ship, as to find their officers leaving them, either to go home, or to pass to another ship. The evil of a change of commanders is of course much greater, and should, if possible, never be incurred.

Another evil, of greater magnitude, is keeping a crew out beyond the term of their enlistment. Besides disgusting seamen with the service, and discouraging their return to it, it often leads to acts of insubordination at the termination of the cruise, which are deplorable in themselves and fatal in their example. Nor is this evil much abated, where men on foreign stations, towards the end of the term of their service, when they should be on their way home to be discharged, are cajoled to reënter until the return of the ship to the United States. In the first place, a favor is to be asked of those, who, while on board of our ships, should be required only to obey. In the second place, the choice is not honestly offered them. They would all prefer going home and being discharged, when their times should be out; but the bribery of a week's liberty and two or three months' pay, after years of close and almost uninterrupted confinement, is more than they can resist. A dishonest bargain is made with them, and on

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their arrival in the United States, they burst the bonds of discipline, and enact scenes disgraceful to the service, and permanently prejudicial to its character. Three years are quite long enough for our officers and seamen to be absent from their country, and we should be glad to see our ships return much within that time.

In concluding these remarks, which a strong interest in the subject has led us to extend far beyond our intention, we would express the fervent hope, that our navy may, ere long, receive the extension and improvement, which the best interests of the country demand.

ART. VII. — *Dictionary of Latin Synonymes, for the Use of Schools and Private Students; with a Complete Index.* By LEWIS RAMSHORN. *From the German;* by FRANCIS LIEBER. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 1839. 8vo. pp. viii. and 475.

WE are glad to see, in our own language, a translation of this valuable work of an eminent German scholar and practical instructor. If the Latin language is still to be a part of our course of education, — and we hope it will long continue to be so, — it must be studied with the aid of such works as the present; for which, indeed, we shall be obliged, for some time, to look to Germany, now at the head of the literature of all Europe.

The volume before us is not the original work of Dr. Ramshorn, but an *abridgment* of it, made by the author himself, expressly for the use of schools. The principal difference, however, between the two is, that while the vocabularies agree, the larger work has a more extensive list of authorities under each word, and has also a designation of the book and section of the Roman authors in whose writings the citations are to be found; but the present abridgment has only the name of the author, without a reference to the book or chapter of his work. By this arrangement, the work is comprised within a moderate compass, and is thus better adapted to the use of schools and students in general.

The French philosopher, D'Alembert, remarks, that, in addition to the different significations of the same word, a philosophical grammarian must examine in what cases differ-

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ent words have the same meaning, or are *synonymous*, as we call them. He justly adds, that we give that name to two descriptions of words; first, to those which have strictly and absolutely the same signification, and may on all occasions be substituted for each other; and, secondly, to those which present the same idea with slight modifications, so that we cannot employ the one for the other, except when we do not want to pay any regard to those modifications. "It would," continues that acute writer, "be a great defect in a language, to have synonymes of the first kind; but it would be a still greater one, to be destitute of those of the other description; such a language would necessarily be meagre and without delicacy of expression. In truth, what makes two or more words synonymous is, a general signification, which they have in common; and what prevents their being in all cases synonymous is, the delicate and almost imperceptible shades of meaning, which modify that general signification. Accordingly, whenever from the nature of the subject discussed, it does not become necessary to express those shades of meaning, but only the general sense, any one of the synonymes may be used; and, consequently, if there is any language, in which we can never employ, indifferently, one of two words for the other, we must conclude, that the two words are distinguished, not by a delicate shade of meaning, but by a more coarse and strongly marked difference; and thus the language, not being able to express those shades of meaning, will be poor, and deficient in delicacy." *

A similar remark upon the real differences between words commonly called synonymous, had been made, centuries before, in respect to the Latin language, both by Cicero and Quintilian; the former of whom says, that "although these words seem to be *almost* equivalent to each other, yet, as there is a difference between the things signified, the words signifying those things will also differ;" † and Quintilian, to the same effect, says, — "We commonly use many words for the same thing; but these, if you discriminate carefully, will exhibit, each, a peculiar force or meaning of its own;" and he afterwards adds, that, of these synonymes, "some are more decent than others, some are more elevated, some are

* D'Alembert, *Elémens de Philosophie*, chap. viii., *Grammaire.*

† Cic. *Topic.* viii.: "Quanquam enim vocabula *prope idem* valere videantur, tamen, quia res differebant, nomina rerum distare voluerunt."

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more elegant, some more agreeable, and some more sonorous." * With similar views, that deepest thinker of all antiquity, Aristotle, had also remarked, before the age of Cicero and Quintilian, that as equivocal or *homonymous* words were useful to sophists and to those who reason to deceive, so, on the other hand, to the poet *synonymes* were necessary, *τῷ ποιητῇ δὲ συνωνυμίαι.*†

The great utility of synonymes stimulated the ancient critics and grammarians to make collections of them, at an early period in literature. Of those now extant, the most ancient is that of *Greek* synonymes, by Ammonius, a grammarian, who flourished, according to some writers, in the second century, and according to others, in the fourth. His collection, under the title of *Ἀμμωνίου περὶ Ὁμοίων καὶ Διαφόρων Λεξέων,* was first printed by Aldus Manutius, in 1497, and afterwards, with corrections, by Henry Stephens, who published this, with other Treatises relating to the Greek language, in the Appendix to his *Thesaurus;* from which it was copied by Scapula, Constantine, and others, and annexed to their lexicons of the Greek language. The best edition, however, is that of Valckenaer, published in 1739, in two small quarto volumes, one of which consists of the valuable annotations of that eminent scholar.

The early Roman writers have not left us any professed collection of synonymes in their language, like that of Ammonius for the Greek. We find, however, interspersed through their works, occasional observations on the subject, and numerous instances given of words, considered to be either synonymous, or slightly distinguishable from each other in meaning. But for a well-known example in Cicero's Epistles, we should, at this day, be very likely to suppose, that the verbs *amare* and *diligere* had the same force; he says, however, making a marked distinction, "ut scires, eum non a me *diligi* solum, verum etiam *amari*."‡ So Seneca distinguishes between *tutus* and *securus;* "*Tuta* scelera esse

* Quintil. *Instit.* "Pluribus autem nominibus in eâdem re vulgo utimur; quæ tamen si diducas, suam quandam propriam vim ostendent." — Lib. vi. c. 3, 17. "Sed, cum idem frequentissime plura significent, quod *συνωνυμία* vocatur, jam sunt aliis alia honestiora, sublimiora, nitidiora, jucundiora, vocaliora." — Lib. viii. c. 3, 16. *Edit. Spalding.*

† Arist. *Rhetor.* Lib iii. c. 2. In his Categories the word *συνώνυμα* is used in a sense somewhat different. *Categ. cap.* 1.

‡ Cic. *Epist. ad Famil.* Lib. xiii. ep. 47.

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possunt, *secura* non possunt." * A more striking example of the different shades of meaning in Latin words, occurs in Cicero's "Tusculan Questions," which our younger readers, at least, will not be displeased to see at large; "Est ergo *ægritudo* opinio recens mali præsentis, in quo demitti contrahique animo rectum esse videatur: . . . . . ægritudini [subjiciuntur] . . . . . angor, luctus, mœror, ærumna, dolor, lamentatio, sollicitudo, molestia, afflictatio, desperatio, et siquæ sunt de genere eodem. . . . . *Angor* [est] ægritudo premens; *luctus*, ægritudo ex ejus, qui carus fuerit, interitu acerbo; *mœror*, ægritudo flebilis; *ærumna*, ægritudo laboriosa; *dolor*, ægritudo crucians; *lamentatio*, ægritudo cum ejulatu; *sollicitudo*, ægritudo cum cogitatione; *molestia*, ægritudo permanens; *afflictatio*, ægritudo cum vexatione corporis; *desperatio*, ægritudo sine ulla rerum exspectatione meliorum." †

On this passage D'Alembert justly remarks;—"We invite the attention of the reader to the whole passage, and what precedes and follows it; he will there see, with what care and precision the ancients could define things, whenever they took pains to do it; he will, moreover, be convinced, that, if the ancients had taken care to define all their words thus minutely, we should find an infinity of shades of meaning which escape us in a dead language." ‡ In addition to the Roman authors here cited, we may refer to Varro, Festus, Aulus Gellius, Donatus, and others, who bestowed some attention on this subject. Among the more modern writers, we ought not to overlook the celebrated French lawyer, Brissonius, whose work, *De Formulis et Solennibus Populi Romani Verbis*, though primarily intended for the elucidation of the Roman Law, contains a body of criticism, on numerous Latin terms, of high value to the general student in classical literature.

Besides the collections of Synonymes of the Greek and Latin languages, there have been similar ones made for some of the living languages of Europe; and among these, the well-known work of the Abbé Girard, the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Universel des Synonymes de la Langue Française*, was the first in point of time, and has served as the model for succeeding authors, in his own and other countries. He was

* Senec. *Epist.* 97.
† Cic. *Tuscul. Quæst.*, Lib. iv. cap. 7, 8.
‡ D'Alembert, *Synonymes, verbo* Douleur.

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the first French writer who made this subject his particular study; though some others had occasionally employed themselves upon it. Girard's work was originally published more than a century ago (1718), and has since gone through the hands of various editors, the last of whom, the well-known French writer, M. Guizot, has most materially improved it; and the work now contains all that is important in the collections of Beauzée, Roubaud, D'Alembert, and the ancient French Dictionaries in general.

In Italy, a book of Synonymes of the Italian language was published at Parma, in the year 1778, by Alessandro Maria Bandiera; and a very complete work on this subject, by Giovanni Romani, was printed at Milan in 1825 – 6.

The Germans, with their characteristic industry and philosophical spirit, have effected more than any other nation in this department of literature. For the synonymes of their own language, they have the works of Stosch, Heynatz, Eberhard, and many others, in which (as Guizot justly observes) we find constant proofs of the solidity, depth, and extent of their views in philological science.

Our English brethren, it gives us pain to say, are as far behind the Germans in this, as in other departments of philology. Their first work, we believe, was that of the "multifarious" Dr. Trusler, who is described by an English author, as "one of those superficial writers, whom the booksellers employ to compile books for superficial readers." His book, however, has been consulted by two subsequent writers, Taylor and Crabb.

Next to Trusler's work we have the "British Synonymy," by the celebrated Mrs. Piozzi (in 1794), whose learning Johnson described, with emphasis, as "that of a schoolboy in one of the lower forms"; and her book is now forgotten as one of the authorities on this subject.

To these succeeded a little work, called "English Synonymes Discriminated," by W. Taylor, Jr., published in 1813. It is a work of considerable merit, but not extensive enough for the use of scholars.

The latest English work is that of Crabb, who has collected a great mass of materials from other writers, particularly from Mr. Taylor, but has not exercised sufficient discrimination in the use of them. Yet he seems to have been stimulated to undertake the work, because "we [English]

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have not a single writer who has treated it in a *scientific* manner, and adequate to its importance." [!]

The indifference, which has been manifested by English scholars in respect to the *synonymy* of their own language, has been still more conspicuous in the case of the Latin; which is the more extraordinary, as England has long boasted of her cultivation of classical learning. And it is a little remarkable, that she has suffered the scholars of Scotland to have the honor of producing the first British original work on *Latin* Synonymes (which was published, too, since the present century began), by Dr. John Hill, Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh; a bulky quarto, which did not at all satisfy the wants of the public, and, we believe, is no longer known among the "apparatus" of students. English scholars are, therefore, still obliged to depend upon the work of M. Gardin Dumesnil (formerly Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Paris), entitled "Synonymes Latins," &c. "à l'Imitation de M. l'Abbé Girard," and originally published at Paris in the year 1788. This useful work was translated and published in English, "with additions and corrections," by the Rev. J. M. Gosset, in 1808, and still enjoys a high reputation in England.

But, valuable as the work of Dumesnil was for students of Latin, at the period when it was constructed, the researches of scholars, particularly in Germany, have since furnished a large mass of materials, from which improvements and corrections could be made. This has been ably done by Dr. Lewis Ramshorn, in his original "Latin Synonymics," of which the work, named at the head of this article, is an abridgment, for the use of "schools and private students," made by the author himself.

Dr. Ramshorn is an eminent philologist and practical instructer in Germany; and the work before us bears ample testimony to his merits in both these respects. He has taken for the basis of his work the *Synonymes* of Gardin Dumesnil, recast and augmented, as a new edition of the Universal Latin Synonymes of Ernesti.

"Upon the works of these two scholars, then," says Mr. Lieber, the translator of the present American edition, "Dr. Ramshorn, a distinguished philologer, and practical teacher in Germany, has built his own, adding from the rich treasures of the science of languages, so abundant in his country. Comparative philology and etymologic knowledge, now so zeal-

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ously and successfully cultivated in Germany, form a science which exhibits to us order, organic connexion, depth of meaning, and progressive developement, where before, disorder, disjointedness, caprice, or a barbarous want of perception seemed to exist, in so great and vast a sphere, embracing many tribes and generations, that the scholar, who enters deeper and deeper into this comprehensive system, extending over Asia and Europe, ancient and modern, feels, as we may imagine one to feel, who beholds the firmament for the first time, after being informed, that all its glittering hosts move in order, and according to the wisest principles. Neither the present cultivation of this branch of philologic knowledge, nor that of any other, appertaining to the study of antiquity, has been without its due influence on the composition of the above-mentioned work, which makes it, in my opinion, a production of singular merit. My friends agreed with me, that an abridgment, adapted to our schools and colleges, would supply a want, which has long been felt by those who instruct in Latin. So soon, therefore, as I became acquainted with the fact, that Dr. Ramshorn himself had prepared a 'school edition' of his work, I resolved to translate it into English. I have done so, and feel convinced, provided I have performed my task with any degree of success, that few works can be offered, to all who study or promote the study of antiquity, more welcome than this."— *Preface of the Translator*, p. iii.

In this commendation of the work, and its great value to the faithful and zealous student, we most cordially concur, as we have no doubt every one will, who shall have occasion to examine it as minutely as we have done. We have not room for many extracts; but to enable the reader to judge, in some degree, of the plan and execution of the work, we here subjoin a few specimens; regretting, at the same time, that our limits do not permit us to exhibit a larger portion of it.

"Amare, Diligere; Amicus, Familiaris, Necessarius; Amor, Caritas, Pietas. *Amare*, to love, from inclination, and because the subject pleases our heart; *Diligere*, from esteem, as a subject dear to us: *Scias Egnatium a me non diligi solum, verum etiam amari.* Cic. *Amicus*, friend in general, and the sincere, true friend; *Familiaris*, a friend of the house, with whom we have become familiar by daily intercourse; *Necessarius*, a friend allied to us by duty, as by relations of public office, the duties and relations of hospitality, mutual acts of kindness: *Cum Dejotaro mihi amicitiam res publica conciliavit, familiaritatem consuetudo attulit, sum-*

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mam vero necessitudinem magna ejus officia in me et in exercitum meum effecerunt. Cic. — *Amor*, love, as affection and sensual, also with animals; *Cāritas*, the intense love to a highly valued object, result of reflection, and only of a pure kind; *Pietas*, dutiful love, from natural as well as religious impulse, toward those to whom we owe our life and the happiness of it: *Aut caritate moventur homines, ut deorum, patriæ, parentum; aut amore, ut fratrum, liberorum, familiarium.* Cic. *Pietas erga patriam aut parentes aut alios sanguine conjunctos officium conservare monet.* Id." — pp. 66, 67.

"Anima, Spiritus, Animus, Mens. *Anima*, the breath, inasmuch as it is air; the soul, as the vivifying substance, according to the ancients, of every living being: *Clodium animan efflantem reliquit.* Cic. *Spiritus*, the breathing, breath, which inhales and exhales the air in draughts: *Aspera arteria excipit animan eam, quæ ducta est spiritu.* Cic. *Extremum spiritum ore excipere.* Id. *Animus*, the human soul as the *principium* of feeling, desire, and thinking: *Immortalitas animi. Constamus ex animo et corpore.* Cic. *Mens*, understanding, as faculty of reflection; disposition: *Menti regnum totius animi a natura tributum est.* Cic." — pp. 71, 72.

"Cognoscere, Agnoscere, Dignoscere. *Cognoscere*, to become acquainted with, to know something by certain marks of distinction (in German, *erkennen*). *Cæsar Illyricas nationes adire et regiones cognoscere volebat.* Cæs. *Statilius cognovit et signum et manum suam.* Cic. *Agnoscere*, recognising something already known, acknowledging: *Deum agnoscis ex operibus ejus.* Cic. *Dignoscere*, to distinguish something by known marks from other things: *Ut possem curvo dignoscere rectum.* Hor." — p. 122.

"Educere, Educare, Tollere. *Educere*, rearing, has reference to care and preservation; *Educare*, bringing up, educating, education and formation of body and mind; *Tollere*, according to Roman custom, the taking up, as father, the infant from the ground, and thus undertaking its care and education; *Parentis est, quem procreavit et eduxerit, eum vestire.* Cic. *Educat nutrix, instituit pædagogus.* Varr. *Quod erit natum, tollito.* Plaut." — p. 183.

"Inquit, Ait, Dicit. *Inquit* (*in*, — Gothic *quithan*, speaking, saying; *inquit*, therefore, he speaks into, the conversation; *inquam*, is conjunctive form), he says, says he, and quite general as a formula of introducing words of another: *Hoc libro quasi ipsos induxi loquentes, ne inquam et inquit sæpius interponeretur.* Cic. *Ait*, he assures, asserts, maintains, as a formula of citing the assertion of another, which we cite by way of narration, and as contradistinction to *negat;*

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he affirms. But if not only mere negation and affirmation are opposed to each other, but whole affirming or negativing sentences, the words *Dicit — negat* are used; besides this use, *dicit* is simply an indicating and prefatory formula of citing the words of others: *Ne faciam, inquis, omnino versus? Aio.* Hor. *Sthenium educunt: aiunt ab eo literas publicas esse corruptas.* Cic. *Considius ad Cæsarem accurrit; dicit, montem, quem a Labieno occupari voluerit, ab hostibus teneri.* Cæs." — p. 259.

"Negotium, Res. *Negotium*, occupation, opp. *otium: In otio esse potius, quam in negotio.* Ter., the occupation or affair as the task for a free activity to obtain an object, especially used of an official, professional, and in general of a dutiful business: *Negotium magistratibus est datum, ut curarent, ut sine vi mihi ædificare liceret.* Cic. *Res*, 190, every subject of which we can *rei*, that is, every thing which can be supposed to exist (*reor* is connected with the German *reden*, to speak, for speaking and thinking or judging coincide originally); the thing, as generic term for something, the more definite determination of which is to be known from its accompaniments, e. g. *divina, militaris: Non re ductus es, sed opinione.* Cic. *Rem agere*, transacting, attending to an affair, which touches the interest of some one; *Negotium agere*, attending to an affair, business, which claims our attention on account of some duty or obligation. *Res est mihi tecum*, I have to do with you, to fight it out with you; *Negotium*, I have something to settle with you. (The deficiency in the English language, that we have but one word, *thing*, for the German *Ding* and *Sache*, renders it always difficult for one who has not entered entirely into the spirit of Latin to comprehend the whole and full meaning of *res;* because, though the Latin has, like the English, but one word, *res* signifies infinitely more than the English term *thing*.)" — pp. 319, 320.

"Pluma, Penna, Pinna. *Plūma* the down-feather: *Plumæ versicolores columbis datæ sunt.* Cic. *Penna*, the larger wing-feather, also the wing itself; *Pulverem pennis detergere.* Plin. *Gallinæ pullos pennis fovent.* Cic. *Pinna*, a thick, stiff, and longer feather: *Galli caudis magnis, frequentibus pinnis.* Varr. *Pinnæ datæ piscibus.* Plin., fins." — pp. 349, 350.

Such is the body of this useful volume. But we must not omit to notice the *introductory* remarks (about forty pages), under the head of "Latin Terminations"; of which Mr. Lieber observes, that "they will be considered by many as containing, now and then, views too bold or fanciful." He has, for good reasons, however, decided to retain the whole

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of this Introduction ; observing, that he did not feel authorized to omit it, partly on account of its own merit, which will be more available, however, for the teacher than the pupil, partly because the author refers to it in the main body of the work. The doctrine laid down in it is, that a word receives a specific meaning by its *termination*, and becomes, through it, a part of speech ; that the *root* of a word consists, generally, of a short syllable ending with a consonant ; but that, of many Latin words, it is lost, if it has not been preserved in other ancient languages ; that the oldest nominal forms contain the personal pronouns ; the others, the declensions. Under this last head, the author has the following remarks, which will serve as a specimen of his views.

"The *third declension* is the oldest on account of the generality of its forms ; for, through them, it designates only existence and its modifications, and contains most original words ; the monosyllabic almost exclusively.

"The *first* and *second* distinguish clearly subject and quality, person and thing, and the *genera*.

"The *fourth* declension designates permanent conditions, as such, and in some, inanimate objects ; e. g. *acus*, *arcus*, *cornu*.

"The *fifth* contains only denominations of essential properties, hence only *feminine* nouns. This is also the reason why it had, at an early period, many words in common with the third and first declensions, as *quies*, *quiei*, *quie* ; *plebes*, *plebei*, and the long ablative terminations, *famē*, *molē*, *tabē* ; farther, *materies* and *materia*, &c.

"In the *third* declension there are, besides, the monosyllabic radical words without form, as *lac*, *sol*, *ren*, *lar*, *cor*, *fur*." — pp. 1, 2.

The author, accordingly, then proceeds to a consideration of the Substantive, Adjective, Verbal, and Pronominal Forms. Under the first, for example, he remarks, that

"The termination *s* is the general form designating existence ; first, when attached to the last radical sound or fused with it, as sus, urbs, mas, laus, mors, pax, grex, nix ; secondly, with a vowel, in nubes, quies, navis, lapis, honos, custos, lepus, palus. The termination *tas*, gen. *tatis*, designates quality ; *tus*, gen. *tūtis*, property ; thus *juventas* is youth distinguishable by early years, delicacy, and blooming beauty; *juventus*, youth in its vigor and strength, opp. *senectus* ; *juventa*, the whole age, period of youth ; *senectus*, old age as

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condition of decreasing powers, but also venerable on account of greater experience ; *senecta*, old age, as the last period of man's life ; *senium*, old age, with its complaints and burdens, oppressive age. *Veritas*, truth, as quality ; *verum*, as the True itself." — p. 2.

In this manner he proceeds through the different divisions of his subject ; and though, as Mr. Lieber observes, in his Preface, the author's views may be, now and then, too bold or fanciful, yet the reader, particularly instructers, will find abundant materials for consideration, which will be important to the thorough study of the Latin language.

We cannot but congratulate the students of the Latin language in this country upon the publication of a work, which is superior to any one of the kind, that we are acquainted with, in the English language ; and it cannot fail to be considered a necessary part of the *apparatus* of every student's library, as well as of every school where the Latin language is taught.

We must not conclude our remarks upon this volume, without adverting to the extraordinary care with which it has been carried through the press ; a consummation, not so easy as most readers would imagine, in works where the variety of types and languages is apt to mislead the most lynx-eyed corrector, and in school-books, above all others, of the highest importance. The type and paper, we may add, are excellent ; and we notice these particulars, because we entirely agree with that celebrated English instructer, Knox, whose experience taught him, that "the type and paper [of school-books] cannot be too beautiful. These allure and please the eye" ; * and we may, in the present instance, without much departure from the meaning of the Roman poet, apply to this neat volume the commendatory remark, — "Chartæ regiæ, ... et pumice omnia æquata."

* Knox's "Liberal Education," Vol. I. p. 47.

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ART. VIII. — *A Discourse on the Life, Services, and Character of Stephen Van Rensselaer, delivered before the Albany Institute, April 15th, 1839; with an Historical Sketch of the Colony and Manor of Rensselaerwyck, in an Appendix.* By DANIEL D. BARNARD. Albany. Printed by Hoffman & White. 8vo. pp. 144.

THE late General Van Rensselaer, whose life is the subject of this valuable pamphlet, was a man richly deserving of remembrance. His character was of sterling purity. Few persons, in any country or age, have silently and unostentatiously exercised a happier influence on society. Born to the hereditary possession of great wealth, which increased in his hands, not by the arts or through the passion of accumulation, but purely because the simplicity of his taste left a surplus of his income, after all the calls of duty and benevolence were answered, it would have been difficult for the sternest censor to find aught to reproach in the modesty of his life and manners. His purse was the treasury of the poor, who resorted to it for their own wants, and of the philanthropic, who found it an unfailing spring of liberal aid for every work of Christian charity. But his bounty, as far as possible, was dispensed in secret, and with that discrimination, which a sense of justice, no less than the unambitious tone of his own character, required. He granted generous aid to deserving objects, but flung no largesses into the lap of sturdy or popular beggars. The task of giving judiciously, out of large means, is by no means quite so easy to be performed, as may at first be thought, by those who reflect little on the subject, and think, if they had the philosopher's stone, they could make everybody rich and happy. The number of demands, very great, always, on all who are known or supposed to have wealth, is indefinitely and oppressively multiplied, whenever the willingness to give liberally is known to coëxist with the means. The great mass of private wants, real and fictitious, the boundless circle of public charities, deserving and undeserving, are diligently urged upon the consideration of the affluent. No fortune is adequate to the tithe of these calls, if it should all be appropriated to satisfy them. The task of apportionment, of selection, and refusal, is difficult and thankless. It was performed by

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General Van Rensselaer, with guileless simplicity of heart, with a strict regard to principle, and with such gentleness of spirit, where high-raised expectations were to be disappointed, that, as probably no man of property in the country ever gave more away, so no man's charities were ever less invidious and offensive.

General Van Rensselaer's liberality was not confined to acts of charity. He wisely appropriated a portion of his ample means to the promotion of practical education; of which, perhaps, we ought rather to speak as of an act of charity, in the noblest sense of the term. The School of Natural Science, which he founded and endowed at Troy, is a monument of far-sighted benevolence. Among its principal objects, one was "to qualify teachers for instructing the sons and daughters of mechanics in the application of experimental chemistry, philosophy, and natural history, to agriculture, domestic economy, and the arts and manufactures." Mr. Barnard speaks of its results in the following terms:

"It is impossible to compute, or perhaps to give any rational conjecture about, the amount of good which has already been effected through this munificent and skilfully-devised charity; much more impossible is it to compass, in thought, the benefits which coming generations must reap from that system and plan of Education, of which the example was first set, and the eminent utility satisfactorily tested, in the Rensselaer Institute. Schools have been set up on the Rensselaer method, in various and distant parts of our country; and it has been stated to me as a fact, from calculations actually made, that the Institute has itself furnished to the community more experimental Teachers and Professors, State Geologists, Principal and Assistant Engineers on Public Works, and practical Chemists and Naturalists, than have been furnished, in the same time, by all the Colleges in the Union. If the half of this statement be true, the result, in this single particular, is a proud one for the memory of the Patron, through whose almost unknown munificence it has been effected." — pp. 82, 83.

The personal history of General Van Rensselaer is, in some respects, one of extraordinary interest. He belonged to a class, never numerous in the Northern and Middle States, scarcely known, in fact, in New England, that of large landed proprietors. He inherited an immense property, known by the name of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck, granted to his ancestor in the earliest period of the Dutch

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jurisdiction in New York; and with it the title, privileges, and honors of a *Patroon*, as the lord of the manor appears to have been called in the Dutch colonial law. As far as we are aware, General Van Rensselaer was the only individual, to whom, within the memory of man, this title, originally of right, and after the American Revolution by universal courtesy, has been conceded. The class of very rich men, generally, but not without exceptions, (of which Hancock and Carroll, as well as the Patroon are memorable examples,) at the commencement of the Revolution, looked with fear upon that event, and shrunk from its possible results, among which confiscation was that which the entire history of rebellion rendered most familiar to a timid mind, wedded to the enjoyment of the good things of life. General Van Rensselaer was barely eleven years old, when the war broke out; but his guardians and family embraced the cause of independence, and he was nurtured upon pure whig principles. His large property, his attachment to the federal constitution at the time of its formation, and his adherence to its principles, against the various measures which, at different periods, have been devised, in violation of its spirit, sometimes of its letter, for the purpose of carrying temporary, political ends, threw him, for the better half of his life, into the political minority of his native State. He was associated, as Lieutenant-Governor, with Mr. Jay, for six years, but failed, by a small number of votes, to be elected his successor. Had he been willing to use a few catchwords of party, he would easily have won and worn, through life, the honors which were won from him by others, great and patriotic men, certainly, but who were willing to speak the *Shibboleth*, which he was not. In the war of 1812, he was placed in the chief military command by his rival, Governor Tompkins; and, though nothing could well be conceived less congenial, than his domestic, tranquil, unobtrusive character, with the fervor, the passion, and recklessness of military life, yet he promptly obeyed the call, engaged with spirit in the discharge of his duties, and did all that could be done by an invading general, who, after entering the enemy's country, finds his army troubled with constitutional scruples on the subject of following him.

General Van Rensselaer was a Canal Commissioner in New York, from the first formation of the Board, which had

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in charge the magnificent system of internal navigation of that State. His known practical wisdom, in the management of extensive private concerns, made it an object of public policy to enlist his name and influence on the side of the *big ditch*, at the time when the noble enterprise had to struggle into existence under the weight of all the odium which could be cast upon it, by politicians of the same gauge and calibre with those, who are unceasing in their efforts, in our own State, to cast reproach upon an enterprise of similar character, and, considering the proportion of our means, not of inferior magnitude.

In Congress he moved in a sphere above the storms of party. It was pleasing to contemplate one, whose political course was unwavering, still commanding universal respect by amenity of manners and purity of character. It fell to his lot, by his casting vote in February, 1825, to decide the ballot of New York; and, in so doing, to cause the election of President John Quincy Adams, at the first trial. It is necessary to be acquainted with the private history of that day, to know what firmness was required to perform this duty, and from what convulsions it saved the Union. There were those, it is said, who desired that, out of a long-protracted struggle in the House of Representatives, a state of affairs should arise, which would defy all arbitration but that of the sword. It devolved on General Van Rensselaer, by his casting vote in the delegation of his State, to avert the danger of any such convulsion, if such danger existed. But such was the unquestioned honesty of his purpose, that even this critical relation to a question so momentous in no degree affected his universal popularity in Congress.

The secret strength of his character was no doubt founded on religious principle. In the morning of life, and while surrounded by every thing which could tempt him to worldliness, he made a public profession of religion in the church of his fathers, and maintained, to the end of his days, the character of a consistent Christian. This topic is happily adverted to by Mr. Barnard; —

"In presenting, as nearly as may be in the order of time, the events of this good man's life, I must not omit to mention one in this place, certainly of no inconsiderable importance, if only considered as affecting our right judgment of his character. It was in the spring of 1787, when he was short of

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twenty-three years of age, in the vigor of manhood, just on the threshold of mature life, which sparkled brightly before him, with large possessions, and wealth enough to lay the world under contribution for whatever it can afford to pamper appetite and passion, and supply the means of wanton and luxurious indulgence ; it was then, and under such circumstances, that he deliberately chose, by a formal profession of religious faith, and a personal vow of religious obedience, according to the doctrines and discipline of the Christian Church as adopted by the Dutch Reformers, to pledge himself to a life of temperance, simplicity, truth, and purity. How well he kept his vow, is known to all who had occasion to observe him ; and how eminently he was blest in keeping it, was seen in all those quarters, where, I think, the Christian is wont to look for the promise of *the life that now is*, — in the calm and quiet of a peaceful existence, in domestic relations of the most tender, harmonious, and beautiful character, and in a resigned, appropriate, and happy death." — pp. 36 – 38.

His remains were committed to the tomb with ceremonies well befitting the occasion ; —

" His own desire had been frequently expressed, that, when the time came, his body should be borne to the common Tomb of his Fathers, with simple ceremonies only, and with an entire absence of ostentatious parade. This injunction was obeyed by his family, as far as the public, and public bodies, would consent it should be. It was arranged, that the religious solemnities of his funeral should be celebrated at the North Dutch Church in this city, — his own place of public worship, — and in the presence of that fellowship of Christians belonging there, with which he had been connected, as a Member in Communion, for more than half a century. From thence to the family vault, near his late residence, a procession was formed. The Body, in its simple and unadorned Coffin, was borne on mens' shoulders, — the bearers frequently relieving each other, — the pall supported by those who had known him long and loved him well. No hearse was permitted to receive the burden. The mourners followed ; after them, the Municipal Authorities of the City ; several public Societies ; the Chief Magistrate and other Executive Officers of the State ; and the Legislature in order ; and then came citizens and strangers, falling in by two and two, until the procession was extended to a most unusual and imposing length. All were on foot. No carriages were used. The military were in citizens' dress. All badges of office had been laid aside. No plumes nodded ;

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no helmets glistened ; no music murmured ; solemn, slow, and silent, the procession moved on, through thick and thronging, but orderly and respectful ranks, crowding the streets, and lining the casements of every dwelling on either side. And thus were the remains of the good man carried, and deposited in their resting-place ; and thus were they attended. None ever had a more simple funeral ; none were ever followed by a larger train of sincere and sorrowing mourners." — pp. 91, 92.

The author of this pamphlet is well known to most of our readers, as a distinguished member of Congress, during the administration of Mr. Adams, and of the Assembly of New York, as a member from Albany. His speeches, on numerous important topics of finance, education, and general policy, mark him out as one of the most enlightened of our statesmen. Uniting the cultivation of letters with that of politics, he has favored the public with several addresses, delivered on literary occasions, and before the societies for intellectual improvement, which abound at the present day. They are all of a very high order. Sound principles, forcible reasoning, happy illustration, and a chaste style, characterize Mr. Barnard's writings. The present Discourse is, we think, one of the most valuable of his productions. It presents us a very satisfactory historical sketch of the life and services of a most distinguished individual. It will furnish materials to the historian. The Appendix contains an outline of the history of the Colony and Manor of Rensselaerwyck, the hereditary estate of the family. This little colony, — but large patrimony, — must, we think, be *sui generis* in its origin and fortunes ; and it serves with other efforts at colonial establishment, singularly various as they were, to illustrate the vague and searching activity of the spirit of adventure, in its direction toward the settlement of America at the commencement of the seventeenth century.

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Art. IX. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *The Mathematical Miscellany.* Conducted by C. Gill, Professor of Mathematics in the Institute at Flushing, Long Island. Vol. I. pp. 414. 8vo.

This volume is formed of six numbers, which have been published as a periodical, two numbers yearly, during the last three years. Without intending to give any thing like an analysis of the work, we have thought it our duty to promulgate, to the extent of our circulation, a knowledge of its publication; claiming for the learned and ingenious contributors to its pages the honor which their labors, in the most abstract department of science, so richly merit. We feel this duty the more strongly impressed upon us, when we reflect, that, apart from the satisfaction found in the successful investigation and solution of the problems of the Miscellany, its authors can look for no possible reward but that of reputation, which, if limited to those who read and appreciate their work, must be altogether too narrow for their deserts. We perceive, moreover, in the modest and unpresuming science of this work, some compensation for the high tone of pretension, amongst us, to discovery, in departments of philosophy, in which, if truth must be told, we are lamentably deficient.

Publications, similar to that here noticed, have been long known in Europe. The most celebrated of these, the "Ladies' Diary," was commenced in 1704, and is yet continued. On the list of its contributors are the names of Simpson, Emerson, Landen, Hutton, and Vince. In addition to the "Ladies' Diary," the English have, likewise, supported the "Gentlemen's Diary," the "Mathematical Companion," Hutton's "Miscellanea Curiosa," and Leybourn's "Mathematical Repository"; the pages of which bear the names of some of the most eminent of the English mathematicians. Nor is a mathematical periodical entirely new in this country; as the present work was preceded by "The Mathematical Correspondence," "The Analyst," and, more immediately, by the "Mathematical Diary"; the publication of which was commenced, in the year 1825, under the direction of Dr. Adrain, then mathematical professor in Columbia College, and was continued by him and Mr. Ryan to the year 1830; forming two volumes of 316 and 194 pages.

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The "Diary" contains problems of the highest order, the solution of which required the most consummate skill in the application of mathematical analysis. Amongst the principal contributors to this work, besides its editors, were, Dr. Bowditch, (who took a constant and deep interest in its success, and, as the most effectual exhibition of his desire to encourage it, always furnished solutions to all the problems,) and the eminent mathematicians, Professors Strong, Anderson, and Nulty.

The character of the "Miscellany" differs, in no essential respect, from its predecessor, except in the addition of what is called a Junior Department, comprising problems suited to the strength of those who have not yet penetrated the depths of mathematical learning. The body of the work, like the "Diary," contains problems requiring the whole power of the calculus, as is shown by the solutions of its principal contributors, of whom we cannot refrain from mentioning the names of the eminent Professors, Avery, Catlin, Gill, the editor, Peirce, Root, and Strong. Nor can we forbear adding to this record the fact, that the name of Professor Strong runs through every number of the "Diary" and "Miscellany," as having furnished solutions to every question in both works. Since we regard the publication of the "Miscellany" as highly honorable to its authors, and one of the most efficient means which can be devised for promoting the cultivation and advancement of the science to which it is devoted, we cannot but hope, that it will be continued in an uninterrupted series.

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2. — *The Writings of* John Marshall, *late Chief Justice of the United States, upon the Constitution.* Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1839. 8vo. pp. 728.

This volume contains the opinions delivered by the late Chief Justice, upon the various questions of constitutional law which came before him while in office. It includes, not only those of the whole bench, drawn up by himself, but one or two other opinions, in which he dissented from the majority of the Court, as well as some of his own decisions upon the circuit. The object of the editor, in the present compilation, is stated to have been, first, to place these masterly discourses within the reach of the general public, by collecting them together, out of the numerous volumes of Reports in which they lie scattered; and secondly, to furnish the student of the Constitution

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with the means of ready reference to the leading cases, to which his text-books so frequently direct him. In this latter view, the present work forms an indispensable companion to Judge Story's Commentaries on the Constitution, as well as to those of Chancellor Kent. To render the volume perfect in this respect, the editor has, with good judgment, added the decisions of the Supreme Court, delivered by other judges prior to the death of its late, lamented chief.

It is superfluous, at this day, and after what we have heretofore said, to add a remark upon the opinions of Chief Justice Marshall, whom his illustrious compeer has, with such appropriate emphasis, styled "The Expounder of the Constitution." They will go down to posterity as contemporaneous expositions, shedding a flood of light upon that great instrument; not to be obscured but by a ruthless violation of the spirit of the text itself. We have only to express our judgment, that the editor of this volume has rendered an essential service to the country at large, as well as to the student of constitutional law, by its publication; and that, without it, no apparatus for this important study can be deemed complete.

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3. — *Undine, a Miniature Romance.* From the German of Baron DE LA MOTTE FOUQUÉ. Colman's Library of Romance. New York. 1839. 12mo. pp. 211.

FOUQUÉ's beautiful little Romance is too well known to need any detailed criticism at our hands. We mention it now, merely to say, that the new translation, — understood to be from the pen of a retired scholar of Massachusetts, — is distinguished by close fidelity to the original, and by elegance and freedom at the same time. It is evidently a work of love. The translator's mind is pervaded by the spirit of the book, and he has therefore been able to reproduce it, with all the life and delicate beauty which the original exhibits on every page. A work of such pure imagination as Undine, — so exquisitely conceived, and so admirably sustained in all its parts, — requires in the translator a taste, a fancy, and a command over the resources of language, not ordinarily possessed. All these conditions are fulfilled in the work before us; and we hope the translator will feel himself bound to try his hand again in the same way. It will be doing good service to the literature of the country.

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4. — *The Most Important Parts of Blackstone's Commentaries reduced to Questions and Answers.* By Asa Kinne. New York: W. E. Deane. 1838. 8vo. pp. 190.

The compiler of this book has transcribed, nearly or quite *verbatim*, Mr. Field's "Analysis of Blackstone's Commentaries, in a Series of Questions," published in 1811; to which he has annexed brief answers, from the text itself. The merit of Mr. Field's plan consisted in this, that, in order to answer the questions, the pupil must study, and even master, the entire Commentaries; while his attention was at the same time drawn to the principal subjects. But Mr. Kinne, having set down an answer to each question, either takes away a chief motive to study and reflection, or leads the student to a view of the subject so very rapid and superficial, as to leave but few and faint traces in the mind. The former method calls into action and improves the whole intellect; the latter exercises the memory alone. The one would qualify the student to compose a legal catechism; the other will only enable him to say he has learned one. The difference between them is like that between two students of mathematics, the one of whom has solved each problem for himself, while the other has only transcribed and committed to memory the results of his fellow. He does but wade; his fellow can swim.

Of the present compiler's honesty in offering this book to the public as his own original conception; in withholding all allusion to Mr. Field, into whose labors he has so unceremoniously entered; and in using parts of that gentleman's preface without acknowledgment, we at present say nothing. Our main purpose in noticing this production is to record our solemn and earnest protest against the facility with which gentlemen, in the higher ranks of science, are accustomed to give their signatures in commendation of works they have but slightly turned over, or never read at all, and of whose authors they know nothing. Mr. Field's "Analysis" was printed in this country in 1822, and has since been appended to the several American editions of Chitty's Blackstone, now on almost every lawyer's shelves; and yet here is a piratical transcript of that work, rendered of very questionable value by the compiler's additions, ushered forth to the public, like the latest patent medicine, with a string of certificates from some half a dozen eminent judges and lawyers, no one of whom, it is but charity to suppose, ever examined it with any care, yet all of whom commend it as an original work, of great merit, and highly deserving the patronage of the profession. Would

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they have given any man a letter of credit to their grocer, upon so little inquiry into his character?

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5. — *The Tusculan Questions of Marcus Tullius Cicero. In Five Books.* Translated by GEORGE ALEXANDER OTIS, Esq. 12mo. Boston: James B. Dow, Publisher. 1839.

"OPINIONUM enim commenta delet Dies, naturæ judicia confirmat." These words of Cicero the translator of the Tusculan Questions has very properly adopted as a part of the motto to his volume; as the inroads which time has made on some points of speculative philosophy, and the confirmation it has afforded to others, are nowhere more strikingly visible, than in this work. The great Roman orator, philosopher, and moralist, as is well known, was deeply versed in the writings of the Greeks; but he brought to the investigation of truth a mind, in a good degree independent of authority; nor was he afraid to declare openly his own opinions. Moral qualities the most attractive and impressive are exhibited in his philosophical writings; and his sentiments are clothed in a style so polished and ornamented, and yet so precise and well adapted to the subject in discussion, that a charm is diffused over the whole, which takes an irresistible hold on the reader. To the full understanding, however, of a work so ancient, something more is now wanting than the bare text. This translation, therefore, we think, should have been accompanied with a clear statement of the object of each of the dialogues, and of the nature of the argument. Something likewise is needed, if all the interest is to be given to the work of which it is susceptible, to apprize the reader of what later investigations have shown to be erroneous, or have confirmed, in the reasonings of Cicero. Illustrations of this kind need not have occupied much space, and would have made this translation far more intelligible and attractive; and the entire want of them is the first objection we have to this performance.

Another objection is, that this translation, considered as an exhibition of the thoughts of Cicero, is not unfrequently erroneous, often obscure, where there is no direct violation of the author's meaning, and sometimes so harshly and even awkwardly expressed, as to form a most striking contrast to the easy, graceful, and harmonious flow of the original. To show very obvious and undeniable mistakes in expressing in English Cicero's meaning, we might turn to almost any page of the

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volume. The first sentence of the first book shall furnish an example. Here the words "remissa temporibus" are translated "dropped at times." The only question, which can arise about the meaning of these words, is, whether "temporibus" is in the dative case, or in the ablative, signifying the cause. According to the former construction, Cicero must be understood to say, that his philosophical studies had been "yielded," or "given up to untoward events"; and, according to the latter, that this relaxation had occurred "by," or "in consequence of" such events, where the difference is in the expression, and not in the general idea. That "temporibus" is an ablative of time in the grammatical sense, is what no commentator on this work ever thought of, and is a translation wholly inadmissible. Cicero does not affirm, that his speculations in philosophy had been "dropped at times," but that they had received a check in the disastrous period immediately preceding, though kept constantly in view, and that now, after a long interval, they were resumed.

We will now pass to the second section of the same book in the original, where we find this sentence; "Objecit [Cato] ut probrum M. Nobiliori, quod is in provinciam poëtas duxisset; duxerat autem consul ille in Ætoliam, ut scimus, Ennium;" which Mr. Otis has thus done into English. "He [Cato] objects it as a reproach to Marcus Nobilior, that he permitted poets to attend him into his province. That consul took with him, however, into Ætolia, as we know, Ennius." Not to dwell upon other points of this translation, the sense of "autem," in the latter clause, is wholly mistaken. Where some new fact is introduced, and a slight opposition, perhaps, is implied, the conjunction "autem" has nearly the force of "enim"; as δέ in the Greek, in similar circumstances, corresponds to γάρ. The tense of "duxerat" is varied in the translation to the entire derangement of the meaning of the author. The following would better express the meaning of the original. "For that consul, as we know, had taken Ennius with him into Ætolia." The most obvious import of the translation of Mr. Otis is, that the consul, M. Nobilior, took Ennius with him, notwithstanding the reproaches of Cato; but this is not what Cicero says.

On the next page of the translation, we find this passage. "Geometry was held by them [the Greeks] in the highest honor; and, therefore, nothing more illustrious, than their mathematicians. But we have advanced the limits of this art no further than its uses in surveying and reasoning." Cicero here plainly implies, that the Romans made a less extensive application of geometry, than the Greeks; and yet, if the

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former made one of the limits of this science, its use in "reasoning," its boundaries were not very contracted. Besides, as "reasoning" is used in this place in its more general sense, what is to prevent the mere English reader from understanding "surveying" in a sense equally unlimited? And if the Romans employed geometry in a manner coëxtensive with "surveying and reasoning," taken in their abstract acceptation, the question arises, What more enlarged use was made of this science by the Greeks? But the words "metiendi rationandique," ought to have been rendered "measuring land and casting accounts"; which would have precluded all difficulty. This passage is quoted by Latin lexicographers as proof, that the verb "ratiocinor" sometimes means "to compute." We might proceed in this way through the five dialogues.

As an example of imperfect rendering and oddly constructed English, we quote the following; "How can he want anything, who himself is not? for the very name of wanting is sad, because it has this import: he had, he has not; he desires, he requires, he needs. These, I think, are the discomforts of the wanter. He wants eyes. Blindness is odious; children, bereavement." Whoever wishes to understand this, should turn to the thirty-sixth section of the first book of the original, where the meaning is plain.

There are two classes of readers, forming together a comprehensive body, who cannot fail to be dissatisfied with this translation of the Tusculan Questions; those who are familiar with the Latin original, and those who are not. The former will soon lay down a book, in which they find a favorite work so greatly misrepresented; and the latter will hardly take it up a second time, when most of the volume, in language so indistinct, and the whole entirely destitute of the necessary illustrations, must appear to them obscure and pointless.

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6. — *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir; a Christmas and New Year's Present.* Edited by S. G. Goodrich. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 1840. 16mo. pp. 304.

The Token comes out this year in handsomer style than usual. The engravings are generally excellent, the paper is clear and strong; and the literary merits of the book are greater than those of some of its predecessors. Among the prose sketches, is a very interesting piece, called "Ancient Reminiscences," by the Author of the "Three Experiments." It is a brief biography of Francis Shirley Bollen, granddaughter

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of Governor Shirley, who passed the early part of her life in Cambridge, in the family of Judge Trowbridge. The subsequent years of this young lady's life were spent in England, and were marked by romantic and melancholy incidents, enough to form the substance of a very respectable novel. The piece concludes with a very lively and well-written letter, dated 1762, which we would have quoted but for the cause which so often embarrasses us at this stage of a Number.

Most of the poetry in the volume is not remarkably good. The "Sibyl," by Miss Browne, is one of the best pieces; those by Mr. Mellen, with the exception of two or three brilliant thoughts, disguised under the most affected phraseology, are the worst. Miss Gould and the Author of "Miriam" appear with their accustomed excellence.

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7. — *Beauties of Everett.* Boston: James Burns. 16mo. pp. 180.

This little volume is very well as far as it goes, but a much better edition of the Beauties of Everett was published some years ago, by the American Stationers' Company, in octavo. What we mean is, that beauty is such a pervading element in the works of Edward Everett, that it is impossible to make a selection. The moment we open a volume of his, — no matter where, — we seem to breathe an atmosphere of beauty; the beauty of profound thought, expressed in the purest and sweetest eloquence of the English language; illustrated by graceful and poetical imagery, drawn from a wide range of knowledge; — that calm and finished beauty, which would have enchanted the most refined assembly of Athens. We do not believe the Orations of Mr. Everett can be matched from the whole literature of modern times, in this respect; and therefore, we say, that no selection can be made. Still, the extracts which the editor of this little volume has given us, will, perhaps, be read by many who have never seen the collected writings, or heard the spoken eloquence, of Mr. Everett. The short biography of the distinguished author cannot fail of being read with lively interest. While we are upon the Beauties of Everett, we venture to add another gem to the string of brilliants. It is from his admirable speech at the late Second Centennial Celebration at Barnstable.

"Do you think, Sir, as we repose beneath this splendid pavilion, adorned by the hand of taste, blooming with festive garlands, wreathed with the stars and stripes of this great republic, resounding with strains

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of heart-stirring music, that, merely because it stands upon the soil of Barnstable, we form any idea of the spot as it appeared to Captain Miles Standish and his companions, on the 15th or 16th of November, 1620? Oh, no, Sir. Let us go up for a moment, in imagination, to yonder hill, which overlooks the village and the bay, and suppose ourselves standing there on some bleak, ungenial morning, in the middle of November of that year. The coast is fringed with ice. Dreary forests, interspersed with sandy tracts, fill the back ground. Nothing of humanity quickens on the spot, save a few roaming savages, who, ill-provided with what even they deem the necessaries of life, are digging with their fingers a scanty repast out of the frozen sands. No friendly lighthouses had as yet hung up their cressets upon your headlands; no brave pilot-boat was hovering like a sea-bird on the tops of the waves, beyond the Cape, to guide the shattered bark to its harbour; no charts and soundings made the secret pathways of the deep as plain as a gravelled road through a lawn; no comfortable dwellings along the line of the shore, and where are now your well-inhabited streets, spoke a welcome to the Pilgrim; no steeple poured the music of Sabbath morn into the ear of the fugitive for conscience' sake. Primeval wildness and native desolation brood over sea and land; and from the 9th of November, when, after a most calamitous voyage, the May-flower first came to anchor in Provincetown harbour, to the end of December, the entire male portion of the company was occupied, for the greater part of every day, and often by night as well as by day, in exploring the coast and seeking a place of rest, amidst perils from the savages, from the unknown shore, and the elements, which it makes one's heart bleed to think upon.

"But this dreary waste, which we thus contemplate in imagination, and which they traversed in sad reality, is a chosen land. It is a theatre upon which an all-glorious drama is to be enacted. On this frozen soil, — driven from the ivy-clad churches of their mother land, — escaped, at last, from loathsome prisons, — the meek fathers of a pure church will lay the spiritual basement of their temple. Here, on the everlasting rock of liberty, they will establish the foundation of a free State. Beneath this ungenial wintry sky, principles of social right, institutions of civil government, shall germinate, in which, what seemed the Utopian dreams of visionary sages, are to be more than realized.

"But let us contemplate, for a moment, the instruments selected by Providence, for this political and moral creation. However unpromising the field of action, the agents must correspond with the excellence of the work. The time is truly auspicious. England is well supplied with all the materials of a generous enterprise. She is in the full affluence of her wealth of intellect and character. The age of Elizabeth has passed, and has garnered up its treasures. The age of the Commonwealth, silent and unsuspected, is ripening towards its harvest of great men. The Burleighs and Cecils have sounded the depths of statesmanship; the Drakes and Raleighs have run the whole round of chivalry and adventure; the Cokes and Bacons are spreading the light of their master-minds through the entire universe of philosophy and law. Out of a generation of which men like these are the guides and lights, it cannot be difficult to select the

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leaders of any lofty undertaking; and, through their influence, to secure to it the protection of royalty. But, alas, for New England! — No, Sir, happily for New England, Providence works not with human instruments. Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called. The stars of human greatness, that glitter in a court, are not destined to rise on the lowering horizon of the despised Colony. The feeble company of Pilgrims is not to be marshalled by gartered statesmen, or mitred prelates. Fleets will not be despatched to convoy the little band, nor armies to protect it. Had there been honors to be worn, or pleasures to be enjoyed, or plunder to be grasped, hungry courtiers, mid-summer friends, godless adventurers, would have eaten out the heart of the enterprise. Silken Buckinghams and Somersets would have blasted it with their patronage. But, safe amidst their unenvied perils, strong in their inoffensive weakness, rich in their untempting poverty, the patient fugitives are permitted to pursue unmolested the thorny paths of tribulation; and, lauded at last on the unfriendly shore, the hosts of God, in the frozen mail of December, encamp around the dwellings of the just;

> 'Stern famine guards the solitary coast,
> And winter barricades the realms of frost.'

"While Bacon is attuning the sweetest strains of his honeyed eloquence to soothe the dull ear of a crowned pedant, and his great rival, only less obsequious, is on his knees to deprecate the royal displeasure, the future founders of the new republic beyond the sea are training up for their illustrious mission, in obscurity, hardship, and weary exile in a foreign land.

"And now, — for the fulness of time is come, — let us go up once more, in imagination, to yonder hill, and look out upon the November scene. That single dark speck, just discernible through the perspective glass, on the waste of waters, is the fated vessel. The storm moans through her tattered canvass, as she creeps, almost sinking, to her anchorage in Provincetown harbour; and there she lies, with all her treasures, not of silver and gold, (for of these she has none,) but of courage, of patience, of zeal, of high spiritual daring. So often as I dwell in imagination on this scene; when I consider the condition of the Mayflower, utterly incapable, as she was, of living through another gale; when I survey the terrible front presented by our coast to the navigator who, unacquainted with its channels and roadsteads, should approach it in the stormy season, I dare not call it a mere piece of good fortune, that the general North and South wall of the shore of New England should be broken by this extraordinary projection of the Cape, running out into the ocean a hundred miles, as if on purpose to receive and encircle the precious vessel. As I now see her, freighted with the destinies of a continent, barely escaped from the perils of the deep, approaching the shore precisely where the broad sweep of this most remarkable headland presents almost the only point, at which, for hundreds of miles, she could, with any ease, have made a harbour, and this, perhaps, the very best on the seaboard, I feel my spirit raised above the sphere of mere natural agencies. I see the mountains of New England rising from their rocky thrones. They rush forward into the ocean, settling down as they advance; and

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there they range themselves, a mighty bulwark around the Heaven-directed vessel. Yes, the everlasting God himself stretches out the arm of his mercy and his power, in substantial manifestation, and gathers the meek company of his worshippers as in the hollow of his hand."

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8. — *Observations on the Typhoid Fever of New England. Read at the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society, May 29th*, 1839. By Enoch Hale, M. D., Attending Physician to the Massachusetts General Hospital.

The nature of diseases, involving the question of their identity or diversity, was formerly considered as depending on their symptoms, or the external signs which they exhibit, and which are cognizable by our senses. But the modern habits of investigating disease have furnished an ulterior ground for the discrimination of morbid affections, founded not so much upon the symptoms, as upon the anatomical changes which take place in important organs of the body, and of which changes the symptoms are merely consequences.

The anatomical character of many diseases is well established and undoubted. Thus pleurisy is an inflammation of the membrane which lines the chest, and phthisis is a tuberculous disease of the lungs. But there are other diseases, the precise structural changes accompanying which, are, at the present day, unknown.

The continued fevers, especially those of temperate climates, have been regarded as obscure in their anatomical character, and have afforded fertile themes of discussion and controversy. From the circumstance of their pervading every part of the body, and affecting all its functions, they have been considered as dependent on no particular lesion, or morbid change, of any part or organ, and they have, therefore, been denominated *idiopathic* fevers by the English, and *fièvres essentielles* by the French.

For some time past, the patient and accurate researches of the French pathologists have been bringing this question very near to its point of settlement. And, after the successive approximations of various observers, it has been determined by the observations of the indefatigable Louis, that the common continued fever of Paris depends on, or rather is connected with, certain changes, in the elliptical patches of the *ilium*, commonly called *Peyer's glands ;* and that these changes are also accompanied with a morbid alteration of the corresponding

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mesenteric glands, and, likewise, in most cases by a change in the size and consistence of the spleen.

Soon after this discovery became known in this country, it was found, that the continued fevers, in and about Boston, exhibited the precise characters which had been pointed out by Louis; and similar observations were made, to a certain extent, in Philadelphia and in Great Britain, and elsewhere. So that the anatomical character of our most common continued fever, was considered, for a time, as definitively settled.

But at length it was observed, in some parts of Great Britain and Ireland, that patients died of continued fever, in whom no morbid change whatever could be detected in the organs which have been alluded to; so that the faith of medical men began to be shaken in the infallibility of the criteria laid down by the great French pathologist. The mystery was not solved, until it was found, by more extensive observation, that the symptoms, which occurred in the cases where Peyer's glands were affected, were different from those which existed in the cases where these glands were not affected. The final result has been the admission of the existence of two distinct diseases, one of which, called *typhus*, is a contagious fever, occurring in the British islands, and observed also in Philadelphia, and which is especially prone to affect dense masses of population, as in prisons, ships, and crowded habitations of the poor; the other, called *typhoid* fever, which is the common fever of Paris and of New England, appearing also in various other parts of the United States and of England, and which is, for the most part, sporadic and non-contagious.

Dr. Hale's Discourse is an able and intelligent exposition of the pathology of the Typhoid fever of New England, as exhibited in its physical signs and anatomical appearances. Besides results derived from his private practice, he has given the analysis of one hundred and ninety-seven cases, that have occurred, within the last six years, in the Massachusetts General Hospital, of which one hundred and seventy-five terminated in recovery. In addition to his lucid and instructive account of typhoid fever, he has bestowed a brief notice on the recent works which relate to the fevers of Great Britain, and has furnished an account of typhus, founded on the successive observations of Doctors Lombard, Staberoh, West, Stokes, &c. in Europe, and of Doctor Gerhard in this country.

In respect to the treatment of typhoid fever, Dr. Hale's authority is added to the growing mass of testimony in favor of the mild and expectant plan, over that which has consisted in violent and fruitless efforts to force the disease to a speedy termination.

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NOTE

TO ARTICLE V. OF THE PRESENT NUMBER.

THE last accounts from Upper Canada would seem to threaten a less peaceable state of things for the coming winter, than we have been anticipating. "In September or October," say the high Tory papers, "the invasions are to commence. Winter is not to be waited for, this time; and the attack is to be as much more formidable than before, as it is earlier." An unlikely tale enough. Still, its authors claim to speak on authority; and there are not wanting ambiguous intimations to the same effect, from parties on this side the line, supposed to be in all the secrets of the "Patriot" cause.

In 1837, the Canadian insurgents doubtless carried with them the honest sympathies of a very large proportion of our frontier population. The British nation feels no shame for its sympathy with Greece and Poland; and ours need feel none, for this their early interest in the supposed parallel case of Canada. As for the Navy Island and other movements of that winter, they are quite another thing. The honest sympathy we speak of gave *opportunity* for them, but was not their *cause*. The leaders in these affairs belonged to a class, whose sympathies are of a very different stamp; and their doings, and the number and general character of their followers, were worthy of their motives. Last winter's movements had little or no connexion with any general popular feeling on Canadian affairs. This feeling, indeed, was fast subsiding, and could hardly then be called a popular feeling at all. Take them for all in all, the "Hunters' lodges" were as thorough a hoax, on a large scale, as has been played off these many years. Of the many, whose names figured on the lodge-books, a small number, only, ever thought to raise a finger "in the beaten way" of fighting; and, even of that small number, the zeal of most needed little cooling. The hostility of the Upper Canadians was no sooner proved, than it was found efficient to this end. Sir George's spies, by the information they gave, cost Canada a world of useless alarm, and Great Britain a goodly amount of gold. Less than half the arming, drilling, marching, and paying, that grew out of it, would amply have sufficed to secure the provinces from any second Prescott expedition.

As regards the coming winter, two things are tolerably certain; first, that there is now no *general* feeling of interest in the Patriot cause, even along our frontier, and no approach to it in any other part of the country; and, second, that in Canada,

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as well as on our frontier, there is a class of men who desire war, and are bent on mischief. On our side, these men take the name of "Patriots." Some of them, — by no means a majority, — are from Canada; very few, Canadians or Americans, are of a character to do any honor to any cause. The better class of refugees and emigrants from Canada (and this class is far from small) have no dealings with them. In Canada, no party is more averse to the war-clamor, or more sincerely deprecates "patriot" expeditions, than the intelligent liberal party of the Upper Province. Engaged in a political struggle, in which success is all-important to them, and with a fair prospect, to say the least, if they can but have fair play, they see in this brigand movement the one great obstacle in the way of their success. The High Church Oligarchy, and their adherents, are the only party that gain by it. It gives them what they most stand in need of, — a hold on the public mind. It casts an odium on the cause they fear and hate, and enables them to vilify and harass the friends of liberal and good government in the province, by ascribing to them the actions they most deprecate. No wonder it is this party, that is ever most ready with false rumors of fresh risings and invasions. The friends of liberal principles will surely not be guilty of the folly of playing into their hands.

Of the general result of the discussions, at present going on in the provinces, provided they are left to their natural course, no great doubt can be entertained. The four lower provinces have each a House of Assembly, pledged by their past course, to support the Durham recommendation of "responsible government"; and in each the great body of the people holds, and has long held, the same doctrine. Lower Canada has, strictly speaking, no *political* parties at all. The English race, in general, for the present, looks at the "responsible government" project with disfavor; but this is just because, in times past, the other race has demanded it. Unite the provinces, and so put *their* race in the majority; and in a very short time they will be the first to insist upon it. In Upper Canada, all parties may, in point of fact, be said to insist on it already. The high Tories object to it in name, and that with no little clamor; but they are as warm, as any of their neighbours, against Imperial interference, the moment it affects themselves. *Au reste*, the open secession of their allies of all shades, — the allies by whose aid alone they were victorious at the last election, — threatens their party with political annihilation at the next.

The British government, we have remarked, has pronounced itself against the concession of this principle of "*local* in-

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dependence," as it is sometimes termed. On this point, we should speak with caution. Lord Normanby, the head of the colonial department, in his last speeches in the House of Lords, has expressed himself in more favorable terms, than were used by Lord John Russell, in the Commons. The ministry, it would seem, are tolerably ready to concede the point *in practice*, so soon as it shall be asked in earnest. Their objection seems to be to the bonâ fide avowal of the *principle*, in a Parliament, where their political antagonists are so powerful, and so inveterate against them.

The fate of the union project is not altogether so certain. The union of the six provinces, recommended by Lord Durham, has not been much discussed ; for the reason, no doubt, that the ministerial measure contemplates only a union of the Canadas. To this latter measure, there are some most serious objections, on the score of policy ; and several parties in the Canadas are altogether hostile to it. The ministerial bill, as a whole, we believe almost all parties condemn, on one account or other. It is clear, that it must undergo essential changes, to make it generally acceptable. The question is, whether any plan for a mere union of the Canadas can be made so.

While the proof sheet of the above remarks is before us, we hear, by the arrival of the *British Queen* steam-ship, of the exchange of departments between Lord Normanby and Lord John Russell. We do not suppose this change, of itself, is likely to have much effect as regards the character of the ministerial measures. But, as leader of the House of Commons, Lord John has long been the most prominent member of the present Cabinet ; indeed, he has always been understood to be in every way the most effective man in it. So that his assumption of the duties of the Colonial department, must be regarded as a declaration on the part of the ministry, of their sense of the paramount importance, at the present crisis, of the Colonial politics of the Empire. It holds out to the provinces the promise of having their affairs effectively attended to. A new Governor-general, too, is on his way to Quebec ; a civil, in place of a military, governor. This is well. The difficulty is one which needs a statesman's hand to remove it, not a soldier's ; and as Mr. Poulett Thompson leaves the Cabinet to undertake his present mission, it is to be presumed he comes out with a full understanding, on his part, of their views, and full confidence, on their side, in his.

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QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANNUALS.

The Religious Offering. Edited by Miss Catherine H. Waterman. 1840. Philadelphia: W. Marshall & Co. 18mo. pp. 288.

The Violet; a Christmas and New Year's Present for 1840. Edited by Miss Leslie. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 18mo. pp. 216.

The Gift; a Christmas and New Year's Present for 1840. Edited by Miss Leslie. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 12mo. pp. 328.

The Token and Atlantic Souvenir; a Christmas and New Year's Present. Edited by S. G. Goodrich. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 16mo. pp. 304.

The Youth's Keepsake; a Christmas and New Year's Gift for Young People. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 18mo.

The Ladies' Annual Register and Housewife's Almanac for 1840. By Caroline Gilman. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo.

The Literary Souvenir; a Christmas and New Year's Present for 1840. Edited by William E. Barton, Esq. Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart. 8vo. pp. 226.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

Memoir of a Mechanic, being a Sketch of the Life of Timothy Claxton, written by Himself. Together with Miscellaneous Papers. Boston: George W. Light. 16mo. pp. 179.

Memoir of Mrs. Sarah Louisa Taylor; or an Illustration of the Work of the Holy Spirit, in awakening, renewing, and sanctifying the Heart. By Lot Jones, A. M., Missionary in the City of New York. New York: John S. Taylor. 18mo. pp. 324.

Memoir of Hannah Moore. By S. C. Arnold, of Brooklyn. New York: T. Mason & G. Lane.

Biographical Notices of Mr. Charles Hayward, Jr. and Mr. Samuel T. Hildreth. Reprinted, with Additions, from the "Christian Examiner" for September, 1839. Cambridge; Metcalf, Torry, & Ballou. 8vo. pp. 36.

EDUCATION.

Multum in Parvo; or a Brief and Comprehensive System of English Grammar, upon a New Plan; from which a Knowledge of the Subject can be obtained much quicker and much easier than from any other System. Designed for the Use of Schools, and for Private Learners. By the Author of "Grammar Simplified." Boston. 4to. pp. 22.

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